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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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APRIL, 1947

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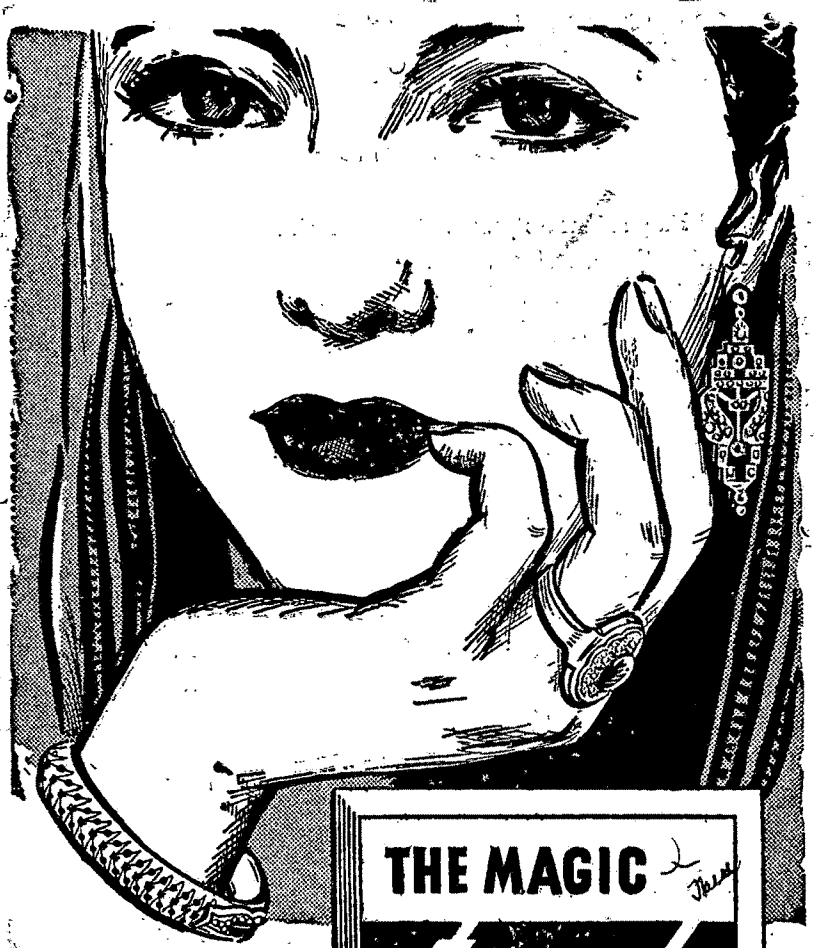

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APRIL, 1947

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OPIUM POLICY AND OPIUM CONSUMPTION 1922-1930

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE

IF what has been said already in regard to the various measures adopted by the British administration on both the Central and Provincial planes in regard to the prevention of smuggling from Indian States and the discouragement of opium smoking as well as its practical adherence to the old system governing the internal distribution of the drug, is a correct statement of facts, it follows that, dyarchy or no dyarchy, there was no marked departure from the traditional policy. This is proved by what was officially reported to Parliament by the Director of Public Information, India Government, during the period 1929-1931.

So far as opium smoking was concerned, it was said on page 326 of *India in 1929-1930* that

" The policy of the Government of India is gradually to suppress the use of prepared opium for this purpose (smoking) altogether."

How very " gradual " the steps taken to that end were has been shown already. So far as opium eating, the typical form of the vice in India, was concerned, we find it said on page 439 of *India in 1930-31* that

" The policy of the Government of India and of most provincial Governments is aimed not at the total suppression of the use of opium in moderation....but at the suppression of its excessive use."

As regards consumption, during the period of 1922-1930, that is after the subsidence of the Non-co-operation Movement and before the launching of Civil Disobedience, adherence to the above policy kept the quantity of opium consumed internally within 5,900 to

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5,000 chests the only exception being the year 1926-27 when it was 4,922 chests. The variations in consumption during this period have been explained as being due mainly to increase and decrease in the retail price of opium, these being governed by the tendency to fix it in such a way as to discourage the smuggling of opium from the Indian States.

The following figures taken from official sources show the internal consumption for the years under review :—

Year	Number of chests
1922-23 ..	5,821
1923-24 ..	5,920
1924-25 ..	5,014
1925-26 ..	5,557
1926-27 ..	4,922
1927-28 ..	5,224
1928-29 ..	5,041
1929-30 ..	5,198

Opium Consumption 1930-1940

On account of reasons which require no mention here, the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement was started in 1930, the example being set by Mahatma Gandhi who ceremoniously broke Salt Law on the 6th April, 1930. This was the signal for similar action on the part of his followers all over the country. Resentment due to his arrest on the 14th May and the shooting of people demonstrating against it at Sholapur led the Congress Working Committee to recommend to the Indian nation, sharpening of the boycott against British goods and specially against foreign cloth, etc. Intensity of repression followed the strengthening of the movement in its various aspects. Later on, came negotiations which, after many set backs, ultimately led to what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, concluded on the 5th March, 1931. At the end of the month, Mahatma Gandhi was empowered by the Congress which met at Karachi to represent it at the Round Table Conference.

During the official year 1930-31, the main stress was laid by the Congress on the boycott programme with the result that there was no immediate repurcussion of the Civil Disobedience Movement on the consumption of opium in India as a whole, a fact proved by the figures which appear below.

Mahatma Gandhi left for England towards the end of August returning to India in December, 1931. The Working Committee of the Congress decided to revive Civil Disobedience as a protest against the repressive policy of Lord Willingdon who had replaced Lord Irwin in April, 1931. The second phase of Civil Disobedience

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started early in January, 1932, and Gandhiji was arrested at once. Measures admittedly severer than those adopted previously, were resorted to. While the laws selected for defiance in different provinces varied according to local circumstances, the picketing of liquor and drug shops, of foreign cloth shops and boycott of British goods were items common to all. The steps taken to meet what was regarded as a challenge to authority roused the stubbornness of the people equally determined to meet it effectively though non-violently. The movement on a mass scale was formally suspended in May, 1933, but individual Civil Disobedience persisted till March, 1934.

The British administration regarded the anti-drink and dope movement as being undertaken to embarrass it by a reduction in the revenue and, undoubtedly, some at least among the workers who participated in it had this in their mind when they exhorted their countrymen to give up the use of stimulants and narcotics. It would, however, be quite incorrect to assume that such was the case everywhere for the theory that purification of the body is helpful for intellectual concentration and must precede the purification of the soul had been accepted by Hindu India at least two thousand years or more before and in fact it is on it that the whole system of Hatha Yoga is based. And there were thousands among the followers of Mahatma Gandhi who took part in the anti-drink and drug campaign so that the people purified in this and other ways might qualify themselves to carry on a non-violent struggle.

Whatever the motives behind this campaign, a matter with which we are not concerned here, its effect was seen in a reduction in the All-India consumption of opium. This became manifest some months after it had started, being first noticeable in the official year 1931-32. Though it is not easy to state with anything approaching definiteness the extent of the diminution due to this cause, there can be little doubt that the effect of the Congress drive strengthened as it was by increases in the retail prices in all parts of India brought about a reduction in the consumption and, what is more, the tendency persisted long after the movement had petered out.

The reduction after the official year 1936-37, came when, with the introduction of Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935 the Congress Ministries introduced their prohibition programme. The gradual reduction in the quantity consumed internally is shown by the following statistics taken from *Statistical Abstract of British India* :—

Year	Number of Chests
1930-31	5,413
1931-32	4,269
1932-33	4,000
1933-34	3,906
1934-35	3,915
1935-36	3,731
1936-37	3,922
1937-38	3,589
1938-39	3,595
1939-40	3,347

British Opium Policy 1773-1940

During all the long period that is to say from 1773, when Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal and in behalf of the East India Company assumed the opium monopoly, down to 1940, three phases in the opium policy of our rulers may be said to be noticeable.

During the first period lasting barely till the cultivation of poppy in what is now Bengal was forbidden, there was no attempt at regulating the traffic in opium, its manufacture or the extent of its consumption.

During the second phase when the potentialities of the drug as a source of revenue were realised, various steps were taken from time to time to take the monopoly an effective one so as to ensure that the opium meant for export and for internal consumption was derived from licit sources only.

Down to 1907, the British administration, generally speaking, concentrated nearly all its efforts on maintaining the export trade which absorbed from 12 to 15 times the quantity required for internal consumption. At first American and, after that, international intervention through the League of Nations compelled it to revise its attitude in regard to the export trade. Under pressure from international opinion, it was persuaded to, at first greatly, reduce and, at a later stage, to practically stop the export of Indian opium except for medical purposes.

The gradual reduction in the export trade which, at one time, had made quite respectable contributions to the Indian revenues, increased the importance of that realised from the quantity consumed internally with which the third phase may be said to open. And the revenue from it assumed a new importance when opium became a transferred subject under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and was found helpful in balancing the budgets of the Provinces. At the same time, the gradual increase in excise revenue resulting from successive increases in the retail prices was found very useful by the Central Government which received contributions from the Provinces up to 1928-1929.

With the practical disappearance of India's export trade in opium, public attention in and outside India was transferred to what had hitherto been regarded as the two of lesser evils—the internal consumption of the drug for purely euphoric purposes. To counter the criticisms directed, generally with justice, against the policy as regards the supplying the drug to Indian addicts, the British administration found it expedient to take some steps, regarded by anti-opiumists as not quite satisfactory, to reduce its consumption.

It has been pointed out that if the British administration was convinced that the use of opium for euphoric purposes is not so harmful as anti-opiumists think, it could have used this plea in support of its export trade to the Far East where Indian opium has all along been admittedly used for such purposes. But being aware that an argument such as this would carry little, if any, weight, with the members of the League of Nations, it was compelled by sheer force of civilised world opinion to end it. But as western nations did not think it porper to intervene so far as the internal consumption of opium was concerned, our rulers contended themselves with the adoption of measures calculated to limit its consumption.

The two reasons advanced by anti-opiumists for what they characterise as inconsistency are first, an urge to protect the revenue and, second, to maintain, as far as possible, its prestige as a civilised race ruling a backward country for the benefit of its people who have to be gradually trained to give up age-long injurious habits and customs. It has further been held by these critics of the British administration that the first of the above two reasons has all along been the dominating factor in shaping its opium policy.

These people draw attention to the fact that while due weight has to be attached to the various arguments in support of the policy followed by the British administration, a fact which cannot be overlooked is that the utmost that can be said for it is that it has tried, and that successfully, to check the opium evil but that it never contemplated putting an end to it. The most convincing proof of it is found in the fact that the quantity consumed by India which in 1913-14 amounted to 9,867 chests came down to 3,347 chests in 1939-40.

It has been argued that if such a remarkable reduction was possible in a quarter of a century or more by reducing the amount marketed, increasing the retail price and the tightening up of the central machinery, it would not have been quite impossible, provided of course,

that had been the aim of the British administration, to stop the sale of opium altogether for purposes other than medical.

The opium policy of the British administration which has all along in its own language been "to suppress excessive indulgence" on the one hand and to secure "maximum revenue with minimum consumption" on the other has forbidden any attempt primarily directed to this end. It has also permitted it to condemn smoking and, at the same time, to issue large amounts of non-medical opium to the Provinces of India on the plea that the drug can be taken in moderation for many years without serious results. The worthlessness of this contention was exposed long ago when an English student who had made a first hand investigation into the problem in India and the Far-East said:

"It is rather amusing, by the way, that in India one is often told by Europeans that opium eating is harmless, where as opium smoking is most pernicious; and in Malaya the European dish out the opposite tale. Both are idle fancies, repeated in honest ignorance from generation to generation. The medical tesearches of Dr. Neligan in Persia, Dr. Chopra in India, and other doctors—Chinese, Dutch, British, American—all disprove them."

The Indian Conclusion

A criticism which may be levelled with some show of justice is that of the habitual use of all drugs including opium is regarded as so deleterious in the country to which our rulers belong that, under law, they can be supplied to the public only under the prescription of a properly qualified medical practitioner, it was their duty, if they really loved India and her people, to have made the same rule applicable in this country also. Those uncharitably inclined may enquire and such embarassing enquiries have been made more than once, whether this has happened because Indian lives are regarded as less valuable than British lives, whether the desire for larger revenues even when they are derived from the poorest of the poor in India, and it is a fact admitted by our rulers themselves that a very large majority of opium addicts are drawn from these classes whom it is difficult to tax in any other way except by the salt tax, is not the impelling motive behind its attitude towards opium consumption for merely euphoric purposes in our motherland. It has therefore been held that our British rulers have nobody to blame except themselves if their opium policy is such as to reveal a clear differences between their attitude towards the drug evil in their native land and in India.

TUTAMUNDRA

LATIKA GHOSE, B.LITT. (OXON.)

TUTAMUNDRA ? It is not in Africa nor in Thailand, but a small village buried in the heart of the Namasudra country in Gopalganj in the district of Faridpur in the provice of Bengal.

After the terrors of the 16th August and the days following in Calcutta, after the grim tragedies in Noakhali and Bihar, many of us arose from our daily lives of bread-earning, our small hobbies and pastimes, our little pleasures and pains which paled into insignificance and started thinking.

For me politics in Bengal with its ceaseless and futile wranglings had lost all charm, almost all interest, and I had buried myself in the researches of the past, in following those channels of Bengal's mystical life which had burst into such fine spontaneous singing, digging deep to search for their roots. My mind too was engaged in finding some rhythmic expression to a life going on within me in some subconscious or super conscious region of which I was only dimly aware.

The formation of young minds, to create in them a love for literature and those ultimates of life which the poetry of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Shelley and Coleridge so richly—supply, was my profession, but a profession followed haltingly because academic conditions in India and the meagre knowledge of English of my students made things difficult. But the light of understanding in a bright mind here and there was some, if not sufficient recompense.

Having awaken with a rude shock, those thoughts which were roaming in the past, naturally turned themselves to the persent. My own life with its frustrations and agonies had shown me that if we fail, it is for our own mistakes, for our own faults, for our own insufficiencies, for our own imperfections. It was not therefore outside but in ourselves that we must search for the causes which had made possible the grim tragedies that had taken place. The problem of problems to me was—was the fine structure (perhaps superstructure) of the last one hundred and fifty years of which the great poetry of Rabindranath, of which the Gandhian way of living of the Mahatma, of which the mystical endeavour and high thought of Sree Aruobinda were lasting monuments, to be washed

away in a resurge of primitive hatreds and our young men be banded into tribal organisations for offence and defence swayed by the baser passions of life.

Just as fanatical passions were rising to their highest, my questions received their answer, by the journeying of Mahatma Gandhi to Bengal to try his greatest, perhaps final experiment with the principle of Ahimsa. It is the pride of Bengal that it is in her soil that this great truth is once more being tried five hundred years after Sree Chaitanya and Sree Nityananda had flooded the soil of Bengal with their teachings of Universal love and had gathered into one fold, high and low, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist without distinction of caste creed or estate. And as I read of the Mahatma's high endeavour, fruitless though I was convinced it would be from the immediate and practical point of view, faith was restored in my heart and the scales fell from my eyes. It was not for nothing that in failing health and at this advanced age, fate had drawn the Mahatma to the soil of Bengal to make it his *Sadhan-pitha* to test his doctrine of Ahimsa. I felt that Mahatmaji's doctrines which had only partially succeeded in Africa, which had failed to change the hearts of the British power in India (changed if changed at all by this latest and greatest of World wars) would succeed in this land of Bengal where Buddhism had found its last refuge and where Vaisnavism had found its richest flowering in Sree Chaitanya's spiritual cult of love. I know that perhaps an hour of greater darkness might come, than had yet come to us, perhaps Mahatmaji's endeavour would seem to fail from the practical point of view, but still more truly did I know that self-giving of the type of Mahatmaji and his comrades, faith such as his, can never go in vain, and that already spiritual forces were being called into action whose material manifestation though veiled and tardy must finally triumph. I felt deep in my psychic being that not without a struggle would the blind and selfish life-forces, with their eternal hunger and demand give way to the higher conscious power of love—but through the ages the assault would be made, under names how different, till the final Victory was won.

For me the call of the Mahatma from Noakhali became insistant, this call for self-giving and I who was blindly groping for some means to be of use to my country men at this crisis, found the means. I had long felt that our politics like our culture was an artificial superimposition and in those days when I was a congress worker I had taken it as my special task to bring women(not the educated and

progressive ones) who had few opportunities of coming out of their homes into touch with the progressive and national movements of the day. But not till I went to Tutamundra did I realise how utterly superficial was our politics, how little in touch with the actual soil, even our great national institution the Cogress was—at least in Bengal.

In fact it was to put myself in touch with the soil of our country and those who were intimately connected by their daily labour with it, that I went to Tutamundra, for I felt that, we, the sophisticated, the upper caste educated Hindus, had yet to go back in sack cloth and ashes to ask the forgiveness of and serve those whom we had neglected, whom our fore-fathers had oppressed. before India could attain her much desired goal of true independence.

Tutamundra showed me one large rift in the lute of our national life which was producing those harsh discords jarring and breaking to pieces what seemed to us the very foundations of our life.

Though I had gone to East Bengal before, this was my first experience of the real low lands of Bengal. After a slow and pleasant steamer journey over the river Madhumati and the canals joining up with it, we landed on a steep bank without jetty or landing place, clambering up as best we could. A small boat then took us lazily down a shallow canal till we reached our destination, the village of Tutamundra and once more chambering up a steep bank we reached the little school building where we were to lodge.

The building consisted of five small rooms made of corrugated sheetings and a shed made of split bamboo walls and thatched roofing. The floorings were of mud. The room in which I stayed was without doors and windows, a removable screen of split bamboo being placed against the opening meant for entrance when one wanted privacy, or as some slight hindrance to prowling night animals.

As far as eye could see on all sides were open fields, from which the paddy had been recently cut, dotted with hillocks of mud on which dwellings had been built. Behind the house there was a narrow jhil which, I heard, supplied us with our fish, and in front were two depressions filled with rain water, which in these parts were called wells, and which dried up completely in summer. These gave us the water which was used for washing purposes.

When I arrived I saw the large shed full of people both old and young, who had come to hear a lantern lecture which had been arranged by us for them. I heard that many of them had not seen magic lantern

pictures and were eagerly awaiting to see them. But unfortunately the lantern would not work and it was a pity to see young and old walk away disappointed in the extreme cold of that open country at about nine in the night. The lecturer returned to Calcutta and went back with a fresh lantern and the disappointment was finally made up at a later date. But the patience, the discipline, the courtesy, shown by these humble workers of the soil, these men, women and children whom Hindu society had long treated with contempt could be a model to our present generation of educated young people, aggressive, egoistic and intolerant whose want of courtsey and lack of discipline on many similar occasions are a blot on the education they are receiving, and on Indian culture of to-day. I thanked my stars that political parties seeking power with their continued preachings of hatred and unrest had not yet been able to penetrate deeply in this village, where man was still left to his natural goodness and those large virtues of patience, toil and innate courtsey which contact with nature and the memory of an older culture still made them retain.

My host was Mr. Harinarayan Sen, Secretary of the society for the Improvement of the Depressed classes, an institution of the Brahmo Samaj. Mr. Sen had worked amongst the Namasudras and other backward classes for the last forty years, and had for more than a decade worked single-handed against great odds as those who had helped and encouraged him in the Brahmo Samaj and outside, were no more. I heard that Mr. Sen had been initiated into the Brahmo Samaj by Pandit Shivanath Sastri, the last of the great and saintly figures of the Samaj.

Dwelling as one of his family I was struck by Mr. Sen's simple faith and child-like communion with his God, his firmness yet sweetness of character and above all his absolute belief in the mission that he had adopted as a young man, the upliftment of the depressed, the advancement of the backward.

I found that his chief helper was one, Mr. Shyamlal Roy, a worker of the society, himself a Namasudra, and a remarkable specimen of all that this virile and not uncultured community was capable of, if and when their energies were turned to nation making as well as nation feeling. Mr. Shyamlal Roy, I found, was one of those natural orators of the people who could speak with great force and appeal. He was made to be a popular leader and had wonderful organising ability and powers of adaptability with a quick mind

that could imbibe fine and subtle thought. Yet he did not bear the stamp of any University.

For the afternoon of the next day was arranged a kind of contest with pointed sticks (spears were used in actual fighting) and large shields made of cane, which looked very much like wide shallow unbrella tops without handles, but were large enough to hide a man crouching behind it. I cannot say I understood much about the technicalities of the contest, but I saw that the referees had often to interfere, so that there must have been well defined rules of contest as of a tournament. But the lithe movements, the clever throwing of the imitation spears, and the quickness of offence and defence, showed a well-cultivated art of war-fare, which proved that these Namasudras must at one time have belonged to the fighting classes. I had not time to enquire about their origins, and past war-like traditions, but I doubted not that this virile class would one day contribute the best fighters to Bengal's national army when independent India took her seat in the councils of the world. To emasculate them, as the caste Hindus had been emasculated, by drawing them into clerical services or office management seemed to me to show an utter want of imagination and to be a national waste.

Apart from their war-like contests I saw some rhythmic lathi play to the accompaniment of rather primitive music. But an old *sardar* stepped to such perfect timing that it was evident that the younger men were fast losing the intricate art. A young *sardar* too displayed such graceful rhythmic movement that I doubt not many trained dancers would envy him. I had some inkling from what I saw that India's lost culture, her art of dancing, as well as much of her excellent craftsmanship had taken its last refuge amongst so called Sudras of Bengal.

The few days I spent in Tutamundra, I spent in walking in the neighbouring villages. When the first stiffness broke, we were flooded with invitations from these very hospitable people, till on the last day before our departure, we found that while we were having one meal at a house our next host was already waiting to take us to his home. Actually we found it difficult to cope with the endless series of meals and courses in each meal. The courses consisted of various kinds of fish, vegetables and *pithas*. As the cooking was simple and difference of taste depended on delicate distinction between the various kinds of fish and vegetables served I found myself at a loss, being used to the more distinctive methods of cooking various

dishes by caste Hindus, who had undoubtedly borrowed many of their richer methods of cooking from cultivated Muslims during the Mughal period.

In my visit from village to village and house to house, I met many interesting characters. In one house a man who seemed in great distress because of a constant consciousness of the sinfulness of human nature came to us, crying to the Merciful Lord (Dayal Hari) to forgive him his sins, and asking all present to forgive him. Though none took notice of him thinking him to be a village eccentricity his voice to me was a ghostly echo of a voice that cried in the wilderness of Jadaea twenty centuries ago, calling on all men and saying, "Repent ye for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand." Of such stuff when grown spiritually conscious were made perhaps those great hermits of Christianity who meditated on mortal sin and frailty and cried for divine grace.

In another house I met a saintly Vaishnava who seemed to have attained to a constant state of high emotional realisation. Having heard that I was a Brahmo he asked me, "Mother, how do you realise the formless without first concentrating on form." When we climb to a height we need the help of a creeper." Though I found it difficult to talk before his simple sincerity he insisted on my replying. I tried to explain to him that the worship of form which had some to the ultimate realisation of the formless, had acted in the common man as a barrier to higher realisation and had led to the accumulation of many superstitions and the establishment of Warring Sects which had made the great founder of Brahmo Dharma ask his followers to concentrate on the formless Brahman direct. But my intellectual reasonings must have sounded hollow to him as they did to my own ears, for that which is beyond the mind cannot be explained by mental arguments, and thought. I felt my own spiritual poverty and knew why Brahmoism had stopped spreading. There were no kindled spirits, from whom other souls could catch fire, in the fold of Brahmo-Dharma.

In another house, too, where I went, a man who seemed to be mentally struggling told me that he had come to realise that Brahmins were not holy men and that they were ignorant and extortionate caring little for the poor or their sufferings. I asked him why then did the Namasudras not dispense with the service of Brahmins for Pujas and other ceremonies. He told me that they had in many families adopted the practice of asking holy men amongst themselves to

preside at their religious ceremonies. But these men were looked down upon by the majority of the community and even in their own minds had arisen the question whether they were not insulting the memory of their ancestors who had installed the family deities and who had followed the tradition of their worship being performed by Brahmins. In his distress he said he had proposed to those friends of his own way of thinking that they should embrace Brahmo dharma. It seemed to be his firm conviction that if all the Namasudras become Brahmos their social and religious problems will be solved. In such a belief he asked me for instructions as to what to do. Before my mental vision flashed that first great figure modern India standing at the gate-way of the 19th Century, Raja Rammohan Roy, the founder of Brahmo-dharma, fighting single-handed, outgrown social customs, and medieval superstitions that had grown as accretions on Hinduism as well as the deep social wrongs, (which too had become part of Hindu dharma) on the one hand, and on the other, stemming the tide of christianity which was being embraced by Hindus as an escape from the social and religious tyranny of the Brahmin ridden Hinduism of post-Buddhist times, which even the great tide of the Chaitanya movement had been unable to wash away completely. I thought of the Brahmo Samaj and of ourselves two members of this Samaj who had the blood of the best and greatest of this Samaj following in our veins, my cousin Amarkumar Dutt in whose veins flowed in a double current the blood of Rishi Rajnarain and Sadhu Umeshchandra Dutt, and myself, with no less a spiritual heritage, to whom this appeal was made, and realised that we individually and the Brahmo Samaj as a whole had failed in the great trust of the founders.

And then I realised that it was not the Brahmo Samaj only (for had it not been segregated and out-casted?) that had failed but that larger Hindu Samaj with its Brahmanical intolerance, that had failed this great community of Namasudras. And then arose before my eyes another vision as the mist of five centuries moved away, and revealed to me 15th Century Bengal with its rising Muslim power, revealed to me Hinduism politically and socially divided against itself, revealed the great mass of Buddhists persecuted and depressed by Brahmanical intolerance, being won over to the new Muslim faith which offered at least respite from persecution and humilaition, and in the midst of it there sounded in my ears the supreme voice of Sree-Chaitanya calling high and low, Hindu and Muslim into the

one ultimate synthesis of love. And then again there arose before my eyes the vision of that twin soul of Sree Chaitanya, Sree Nityananda, standing at his cottage door, at Khardah giving *diksha* in one day to two lacs of Nada-Nadis (Buddhists ?) and receiving them without distinction into the great fold of Sree Chaitany's Universal religion. But Vaishnavism too had succumbed to the tyranny and the exclusiveness of the Brahmanical cult. Who then would open the float-gates love which alone could close and embalm the raw gaping wounds which centuries of wrongs and humiliations had left upon the hearts of the Namasudras.

Twice within the space of five centuries the soil of Bengal had offered to India that Synthetic solution, which, if either had succeeded, and been accepted, would have saved one, if not both the great religions, which have become warring creeds, tearing the body and grawing at the heart of the Indian people. Once it had come trying to purge the heart and release the vital and the individual ego into that wider sphere of the spirit with its call of love and mercy, and again it had come, hearking the soul of India back to the Upanishads, to that supreme one-ness devoid of all division and discord, releasing us from the bondage of the mind, with its narrow limitation, (the refuge of superstitions and fanaticism) with its mental divisions.

And now to this sacred soil of Bengal had come one, the prophet of Ahimsa, seeking for light, that light which will save his country, which will save the world, from inhuman butchery and carnage, which will lead the world to place, that settled peace on which alone can descend the Divine Life which the sage of Pondicherry is striving to release for India and the World. What will be the result of this dual effort of the soul of India none knows but that ultimate Wisdom presiding over human affairs.

But to return to Tutamundra. I had many discussions with others, who talked to me about the means of welfare of their own community, of politics, of social conditions, but I saw that there was in the heart of one and all a bitterness against caste Hindus whom they associated with the oppression of Brahminism and of the caste system and of the Zemindari system under the permanent settlement. The idea was gaining ground (it appeared to be carefully fostered) that the Congress could never stand for their welfare as it was manned by caste Hindus. I felt that there could have been no real welfare work by the Congress amongst them or how could this idea gain ground ?

What struck me most was the earnestness of my enquiries. I felt somehow, that in subterranean regions somewhere, the frost of centuries had started melting. They themselves seemed to be dimly aware of a coming change but were uncertain as to its significance. The superficial political propaganda which had reached their ears had not been able to touch their hearts. The sudden veering round of the caste Hindus too-all this social cajoling, with inter-dining, was not much trusted by them. The peasant has his own simple shrewdness. The same intuitive sense which makes him know that the rain is coming even when the sky is bare of clouds, makes him recognise his true friend. A sincerer, a more enduring gesture had to be made before the socially and economically oppressed Namasudra peasant could be convinced of the friendship of the caste Hindu or of the Congress.

In any case I was glad I had not gone to them in the name of any political organisation, but in the name of Brahmo Dharma, which in spite of a century and more of social ostricism had clung to its catholic principles, in which the caste system and untouchability had no place, and which had perhaps acted as a secret leven raising Hinduism in Bengal of the 18th Century ethically and spiritually and breaking its rigidity. I was glad that my mission would not be misunderstood and above all I was glad I could go to them with a pure heart, not only personally, but on behalf of a dharma that tried to do away with those social cankers which had eaten deep into the heart of the nation, a dharma whose founders were the builders of progressive modern Bengal, nay India.

To-day as I think of my visit to Tutamundra and of the people I met there, I feel as if I had entered an unlit temple waiting to be lit, before its dim splendours could be revealed to the eyes. Who was the priest who would enter to light its thousand tapers and offer worship there. I know not, but mine I know was the humble task of washing its floors, and making preparation for the divine worship to come.

SUFI EXPOSITION OF PRAYER

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PRAYER is a solemn request to one for the fulfilment of our desires. In this sense, we find that everyone in the world is praying. And it cannot be but so; for everyone has his desire which he wants to be fulfilled and we see that it is always being fulfilled. But can we be satisfied with these desires? We desire after one thing, and when it is got, we desire after another, and in this way we go on, till our lives come to an end. Now, how these desires are fulfilled? There must be earnest attempt for the fulfilment of the purpose aimed at. A person cannot have any higher position or development, if he has not the sincere attempt behind it. Though it may be that there is often found some person or thing that intervenes in this growth, but this intervening one is something like a machinery which appears as the cause of our success in any attempt. We desire, and when the desire is earnest, it must have its result. This is found everywhere in the world. See to the developments of children, see to the worldly success in life, see to the growth of trees and flowers —everywhere is the earnest desire behind the growth, development and success in life. The trees and the flowers are growing themselves; we find that the rays of the sun, the morning breeze and the rains are always coming to help for their growth, but these are only necessary instruments for the gradual development of their growth which is the earnest desire of the plants and the buds. Why the children develop themselves to men? It is for the reason that they desire to be grown up; the parents with their affection, nourishment and provision are always coming to help them for their growth. And they must come; they are only the necessary implements for the development of their children. Why the people succeed in ilfe? Because they desire to be successful in life. A successful man before succeeding in life, must have earnest desire and sincere attempt for his success. One may think that for this success, another person

supposed to be sitting at the cause of his success is the reason of his successful life. Yes, to some respect it is so. And is it required that that another person should be praised or prayed, for this success? Yes, he is to be praised, if the earnestness of the praying one thinks that for the success of his attempt, he is required to be approached. But one cannot have the success in life, or that another person cannot offer him this success, if he has not the earnest desire and sincere attempt behind it. Thus when it is said that the whole nature is praising God, the earnestness for the growth of everything of the world is only symbolised into prayer.

'Prayer is only the desire expressed in words for the fulfilment of our ideal. Now, what is our ideal, or rather what should be our ideal? Ideal must be something which is the source of joy and peace and which is everlasting. Every prophet and philosopher has declared that God is the only source of joy and peace, and He is the only Everlasting One. Who are we, then? The prophets have also declared that we come from Him and we shall be again mixed with Him; in other words, we are of Him, but we do not know this owing to our ignorance or impurity; this life of this world is the place where we are to realise that state, and when we shall realise that, we shall be mixed with Him. And the different paths of realising that state are the different religions of the world. In other words, religion may be called what describes of the path to the goal.

We find that prayer is one of the essentials of every religion. Here it is the solemn rquest to God to show us the path or lead us to the goal. The Hindus use generally the word 'upāsanā,' for prayer, and what does it mean? Its derivative meaning is 'to place our seats near God.' Hence, it has come to mean preparing ourselves to be in the same level with God. In the same way Muslims use the term 'Ṣatāt' for this, and it is used in the sense of 'a reverential expression of the soul's sincerest desires before its Maker.' Now, how we may reach the goal through prayer, or what is the use of placing before God our sincerest desires?

There are prayers like—'Asato ma sat gamaya, tamaso ma jyotirgamaya, mrityorma amritam gamaya'—Lead me from falsehood to the Truth, lead me from darkness to the Light, lead me from death to Immortality. (Brh. Upanishad.)

—'Alhamdu litta hi rab-bil 'ālimina, ihdinā as-sirat al-mustaqīma.'—Prayer be to God, the Sustainer and Cherisher of the worlds,—Lead us to the right path. (*Quran*) I.

In the first prayer which has been taken from Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, one of the glorious scriptures of the Hindus, it has been said that this life of this world which an ordinary man passes, is the life of falsehood, darkness and death or degradation, and God or the Higher Self has been prayed to deliver us to raise us, the lower selves (who are no more than so many waves of the Vast Ocean, the vast ocean being compared to God, but we do not know owing to our ignorance that we rise from the ocean or God and we shall be again mixed with Him) to the realm of the Truth, Light and Immortality, in other words, to realise what we really are, though wrongly we think ourselves to be what is contrary to the real state. And when this wrong impression will pass over, one will have the Greatest Bliss and Joy which the prophets have never been able to express.

In the second prayer which has been taken from the Qurān, the one authority of the Muslim religion, it has been admitted that Allāh (or God) is the Sustainer or Cherisher of the worlds which have been created by God for knowing or realising Him,—the word 'ālamīn (worlds) itself proves this fact, being the plural of 'ālam (from the root 'ilm, meaning to know) which means by which one knows a thing, and hence it signifies the world or creation, by which God is to be known or realised. And, therefore, He has been prayed to show us the right path by which God is to be known.

But we are to remember that the prayer degenerating into a mere ritual and a ceremonial performance without any sincerity of heart, is not a real prayer enjoined by every scripture, as the Qurān says 'so woe to the praying ones who are neglectful of their prayer. (Sura 107.) Now, if any one has the earnest desire to reach the goal, he will surely obey all the rules that have been enjoined by the Holy scriptures for reaching that ideal. And we find that any preparation for prayers requires purifications of the body and mind, always giving more importance to the latter which includes all the moal rules of conduct.

Now, as we are to restrict ourselves to discussion of prayer, let us see what Jalaluddin Muhammad, more commonly known as Moulānā Rūmī, says about prayer, in his Maśnavī which contains the main doctrines of the Sufis, *i.e.*, the Mystics of Islam. Moulānā Rūmī is perhaps the greatest philosopher poet of Persia, and he rose into prominence in the thirteenth century of the Chirstian era. To him sincerity of heart is the thing most essential in prayer; a cere-

monial performance or an imitation has really very little significance. How beautifully he says.

Āz muḥaqqiq Tā muqallid farqhā ast
Kīn chūn Dā'ūd ast wa ān digar ṣadā ast

—There is a great difference between a true believer and an imitator, the former is like David[1] and the other only an echo. He also says, "Even the imitator is not disappointed of the (Divine) reward, (as) the professional mourner has his wages in counting." He adds, "The infidel and the (true) believer say 'God,' but there is a good difference between the two.—The beggar says 'God,' for the sake of bread, and the true devout says 'God' from his very soul. For years together this bread-seeker is saying 'God'—like an ass who carries the Quran for the sake of straw." There lies the difference between a beggar, who calls God for the sake of bread, and who gets it, and a real devotee who calls God for God's sake and who gets the Eternal Bliss.

Regarding his opinion about the forms and expressions of prayers we may refer to his story of Moses and the Shepherd, where the latter was praying to God as one Personal Being whom he was asking to appear before him so that he might put shoes on His feet; and for which Moses was rebuking the shepherd, as that was against the custom of Islam. At that time the voice from God came down, "I have bestowed on everyone a (special) way of acting; I have bestowed to everyone a (peculiar) (form of expression.)—We do not care for the language and the word, (but) we see to the condition of the heart."

Mā zabān rā manigarīm wa qāl rā
Mā darūn rā barigarīm wa ḥal rā

Muslim prayer consists generally of four states, *viz.*, the standing up (qiyām), the bowing (rakū') the prostration (sajūd) and the Confession of Faith (Tashahhud). And it begins with the Takbīr, the pronouncement of God, the Most High, which signifies that we are to bid farewell to all bestiality and sexual appetite. Then comes Qiyām, which signifies that we have cut off all connections of wordly or any other thoughts and have stood up in a standing position, but we are to give up that erect attitude of man (qiyām-i-insani), which

[1] David is one of the ancient prophets preceding Hazrat Muhammad, the prophet of the Muslims (See *Qurān*, XXXIV, 10).

signifies arrogance and pride, and take to bowing and prostration in humility and self-abasement before God, so that we may be raised to that original state of pre-existence before our birth when the Confession of Faith[1] was made. This inner significance of prayer has been so beautifully described by the poet in the story of Daqūqī, where he says "The (inner) meaning of 'takbīr is this, Oh Imām,[2] we have been sacrificed, O God, before Thee."—At the time of slaughtering (any animal), you pronounce 'Allah Akbar' (God, the Most High)[3], even so you do in killing your fleshly soul which ought to be killed. The body is like Ismāīl and the soul like Khalīl[4]; the soul has pronounced the 'takbīr' over the noble body. The body became killed (ruined) through lusts and greed, it has been sacrificed in the prayer by (the utterance of) bismillah (in the name of God). .....—From the egg of prayer bring forth the chicken, don't raise your head like a bird without reverence and mannerliness."

Bachha bīrūn ār āz bīzay-i-namāz
Sar mazan chūn murgh bī t'aẓīm wa sāz.

Here the egg has been compared to prayer from which with utmost eagerness, due observance to the function, and good moral conduct and discipline, the chicken of the realisation of God should be brought forward. Only by sacrificing our bodily passions can we approach God. The poet also says that when we should stand for prayer, we should do so with this idea that we have, as if, approached God at the time of Resurrection (when we are to be punished or rewarded for our infirmity or good deeds) and we should lay before Him all our infirmities which will automatically make us bent and prostrating before God. And when we shall be absorbed with these thoughts, they will regain in us the original human nature, which

[1] *Qurān*, Sura, VII, 172. At that state of pre-existence, Confession of Faith was made that I attest that there is no God except He, which admission was very natural when human nature was very pure and uncorrupted, but now owing to impurity and corruption we have forgotten our original state of nature.

[2] Imām, one who leads the prayer.

[3] The usual custom of the Muslims is that whenever they slaughter any animal, they pronounce the word 'Allah' Akbar.'

[4] Khalīl means 'Friend of God.' Abraham is generally known with this title. In the *Qurān* (S. XXXVII) the story of Abraham and Ishmail runs thus: Abraham was rewarded with a son, Ishmail by name, as he requested God to grant him a son, noble and forbearing. Afterwards when the son became grown up, his father was ordered in a vision to sacrifice the son for the sake of God. And when the vision was told to Ishmail he readily agreed to it. "So when they both submitted their wills (to God), and he had laid him prostrate on his forehead (for sacrifice), we (God) called out to him, 'O Abraham, thou hast already fulfilled thy vision'—thus do we reward those who do right." 'Īd al Azha or 'Īd-i-qūrbān (the greater festival or the festival of sacrifice) is performed by the Muslims in memory of this occasion.

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will make us remember the Confession of Faith; and with Salām, the prayer is to be finished.[1]

Alluding to the story of a thirsty man whom a wall standing at the bank of the stream was preventing from getting the water to drink, the poet says,

Sajda āmad Kandan-i-khasht-i-lazib
Mūjib-i-qurbī ki wa asjud wa aqtarib

—The prostration (in prayer) is like the tearing away of the adhesive bricks—it is the cause of nearness (to God), as (is said in the Qurān[2]), "And prostrate thyself and draw (yourself) near (to Me)." He also says, "Suddenly he threw a brick in the water, the noise of the water entered his ear as an address (from the water to the thirsty man). —From the pleasure of the noise of that water, the thirsty one began to tear off bricks from that place and throw them in the water..... —So long as this wall is high, it is an obstruction to bowing down the head (in prayer). Prostration cannot be made on the water of life, till I gain deliverance from this earthly body. The more thirsty a man becomes at the side of the wall, the more quickly does he tear off the bricks and clods." Here the stream has been compared to the water of life which is the source of Eternal Bliss. And if a man is really thirsty after the water of life, he will seek for It, but the bodily passions, desires, pride and haughtiness obstruct him on the way. The moment he hankers It and begins removing off the obstacles which are his passions compared to the bricks of the wall, he will be proceeding to the nearness of God and find pleasure in the searching even.

In showing the relation between the ritual prayer and the real signification of it, the poet says, "And the man who understands the meaning of the form (of prayer), (to him) the meaning is near to the form and (also) far (from it)." The outward form of prayer is near to the inner signification of it, as far as there is real feelings of love and devotion in the prayer which will carry him near to God, otherwise the prayer has no meaning. The poet also says, "The gifts of friends to one another, are nothing but forms (of their friendship)—the gifts are only evidence of implication of their secret love.

[1] Every prayer service of the Muslims closes with the utterance of Salān, the blessing of peace be on you and the mercy of God.
[2] Sura, XLVI, 19.

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—If love is only thought and reality, the form of your prayer and fasting has no existence."

Gar maḥabbat fikrat wa m'anīstī
Ṣūrat-i-rōza wa namāzat nīstī

In another place he says,

Āz ḥamayi kār-i-jahān pardākhta
Kō wa kō mī gō bajān chūn fākhta

—" Being released of all the affairs of the world, go on, saying " Kō, kō (where, where ?) like the dove.—Do perceive this well, oh you veiled one (from worldliness), that God has connected 'I will answer'[1] with invocation."—(Really) one whose heart is pure of infirmities, the prayer of him will reach the Lord of Glory.

In 'Fīhi mā Fīhi,'[2] it has been recorded that once Rūmī was asked, 'Is there any way to God nearer than prayer ?' He replied, 'No, but prayer does not consist in forms alone. Formal prayer has a beginning and an end, like all forms and bodies and everything that partakes of speech and sound, but the soul is unconditioned and infinite; it has neither beginning nor end. The prophets have shown the true nature of prayer.....—Prayer is the drowning and unconsciousness of the soul, so that all these forms remain without. One who prays in this fashion is exempt from all religious obligations, since he is deprived of his intelligence. Absorption in the Divine unity is the soul of prayer." This is really the end of prayer where the devotee is mixed with the unity of God which may well be compared with the 'Samadhi, of the Hindu scriptures,' where also it means absorption (complete union with the object of meditation).

The true devotees have perfectly united themselves with the Divine Will, they have nothing to ask, they have nothing to praise. According to Rūmī, one who regards himself as existing and acting individually, is in effect denying the Divine Unity. In his Maśnavī, he says, " The uttering of praise is (really) going against praise—for this proves the (separate) existence (of mine), which is a sin."

Īn śanā guftan ziman tark-i-śanā ast
Kīn dalīl-i-hastī was hastī khaṭā ast.

1 *Qurān*, S., XL, 60. " And your Lord said, 'Invoke me (and), I will answer you."
2 Fīhī mā Fīhī (lit. on what is within it, *i.e.*, the heart)—a collection of the sayings of Moulānā Rūmī.

RATIONALISM OF ROMAIN ROLLAND

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ALL over the world there is a wave of a coming catastrophe. Politics is responsible for this continued state of war and its fear. Mentally active minds are looking to culture and education. This is not a new idea. It was in 1931 that Prof. Gilbert Murray wrote a letter to Rabindranath Tagore, in which he expressed his desire for the uniting of intellectuals of the world to banish wars and destruction that is its companion. And yet peace has not dawned upon us. Why? Its answer is intelligently given by Romain Rolland in his book entititled *I Will Not Rest* translated from the French by K. S. Shelvankar and published by Liveright Corporation of New York.

There is no need to introduce Romain Rolland. He is dead and yet he remains a great intellectual force. Intellectuals will do well if they just try to translate his idealism into practice. I have words of thanks for Mr. Shelvankar who has translated his illuminating work into English thus enabling the general reader, acquainted with English, to follow his (Romain Rolland's) idealism.

Romain Rolland writes : " I belong to the army of proletarian progress. Yet I was careful not to belong to it with my tongue and my eyes closed. I maintained my right to denounce its errors and condemn its violence. I even brought to this task, in my letters of that time, a special bitterness caused by the way in which communist propaganda was then abusing the name we had given ourselves, independents. I speak of it all the more freely here because these errors have been recognised and disclaimed by the most intelligent amongst communist leaders."

I have given the above passage from this book to indicate what an amount of free thinking he had and he wanted. He might belong to any party but he had never sold himself. He did not believe in a blind worship or following. He wanted everything tested by reason. He advocated an age of reason because unless actions springing from emotions pass through the discipline of reason there is a return to the beginning, the animal and the brute. There is

to be a combination of reason and emotion. Romain Rolland called himself *a soldier of action.* This description is a significant one. For success we need knowledge, planning and action. There can be knowledge and planning if there is an amount of thinking. And then will emanate action, the weapon for our achievements. And so he recommends that intellectuals must be capable of infinite activity both mental and physical. He writes : "I conjured up in fancy an International Union of the Free Intellectuals of all countries. I wished that it should formulate the principles of an Internationale of the Mind, in open opposition to the nefarious work of the intellectuals enrolled in the ranks of the hostile nationalities. I demanded that it should start international Universities, international reviews, international student groups, etc., an international organisation covering the whole world which would be in some sort the brain of the society of the future."

Here Romain Rolland has said several intelligent things. The intellectuals must combine and they have to cover the entire field of humanity so that soon we might pass from this state of backwardness which plunges us straight into bloodshed. The entire order, as obtaining today, is out of date and needs to be reconstructed in the light of helpful thought, made available to the world by the great intellectuals. Romain Rolland, our conclusion is, was a great revolutionary, keen on construction and destruction in the same breath. One thing is certain. He positively asked the politicians to remain in obscurity. He wanted the intellectuals, great spiritual reformers, to come into prominence, not for their fame but for the rejuvenation of society. All along it has to be kept in mind that for Romain Rolland there is one race, the human race, kept up by one blood, the human blood. This shows his intense spirituality. It is maintained in religious books that God lives in all of us and as such all are equal in His eyes. In the beginning of things there was God all alone and in course of time. He felt an urge to express Himself in the many. This universe is the result of that desire of expression of the One in the many. So God is in us and with us. Why not unite? As such all should be equally entitled for peace and comfort. No wonder that Romain Rolland tried to understand in his own fashion from a distance like our great sages Sri Ramkrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi. I need not mention how immensely he valued his friendship with Rabindranath Tagore. He wrote to him : "I have often reproached myself for having dis-

turbed your peace of mind by depriving you of the confidence you felt in your Italian hosts. But I am more solicitous of your glory than of your response. I did not like it that the monsters should be able to abuse your name in history. Forgive me if my intervention has perchance given you some uncanny hours. The future will show you that I have acted as a vigilant and faithful guardian."

This he wrote to Tagore because he wanted him not to be lost in the admiration of Fascism. He hated and condemned it. To my mind it is clear that Romain Rolland loved truth and non-violence. He wanted, it is true, a tremendous revolution but it had to be based on truth and non-violence and it had to avoid, as far as possible, violence. His love of non-violence was not a mere fad. He wanted it in its practicable intensity. He aimed at victories that last, the victories of mind and heart, victories that can be won and made secure by intellectuals, who are not slaves of their emotions.

In the ultimate analysis Romain Rolland appears to be a happy combination of action, thought and sacredness. He set a great store by his book *I Will Not Rest.* Restlessness is a characteristic of one who is ever keen on reform, resulting in the happiness and comfort of all, all over the world. There has to be all-out efforts to know the truth, the essence of men. That is a journey towards God and sacredness. Such a journey was the aim for entire humanity, as envisaged by Romain Rolland. And so he was merciless in his condemnation of all evil, found in these *isms* of today. In the course of this illuminating narration, through letters and short articles, he has tried to cover the issues of Wars, Peace, Fascism, Communism and Imperialism. His conclusion is now manifest. There ought to be no dethroning of reason. Emotion must be there to initiate thought or action but it should not be all-powerful to take us back to the stage of brutes, who have no brains and who cannot think in terms of future. One has to be a futurist if one is keen on peace and comfort in the world. The present is full of chaos and bitterness. Instead, we must have peace and friendship. The best way, in the present circumstances, when there is ever-increasingly the complex of fear of war or war itself in all its ghastly features, is to start elevation of reason by a happy and lasting combination of intellectuals, all over the world. Then there will be no dethroning of reason, which distinguishes us from animals, who are slaves of their passions and emotions. Such an organisation of intellectuals will rouse world from sleep and then we will make a new beginning,

mingling again the kindred of the nations in the *Alchemy of love.*

There can be mingling of nations in the *Alchemy of Love* if the great intellectuals really elevate reason to the level of an ever bold monarch who never cares for opposition or honour or benefits. Romain Rolland has touched this point with his characteristic severity, inseparably connected with a seeker of truth or reality.

'But amongst those who clamour for independence of thought, how many have this faith, and above all, the sincere desire to realise it? How many are really the servants of truth, loyal distinterested and determined to go to the very end of truth? I have not failed to know, I have known it since my youth (and I have denounced it through the voice of *Jean Christophe*) that the intellectuals, the great majority of them, were unfaithful to their duty, unequal to their task, and that the independence they professed was conditioned by their real servility to the masters of public opinion, the dispensers of honours and of benefits.' (*I Will Not Rest*, Page 17.)

These are, indeed, very powerful and apt words. If a revolution is our aim such an attitude of independence the intellectuals have to adopt. They have to banish even the last infirmity of human minds, the weakness for fame and name. They have to be over-critical, and they may even destroy what is coil to their mind to construct a lasting edifice of peace. Their aim is a tremendous revolution, which may come both through destruction and through construction. They are free, and let them be free of the interference of public men, who rule over the destinies of nations. Remember they have to rule over these public men themselves, and in turn unceasingly governed by reason.

To my mind Romain Rolland is one with Aldous Huxley, who regards Truth as one and ever progressive. Ceaseless restlessness and inquisitiveness must characterise a seeker of truth. Truth being one, and also difficult of achievement, one has to march on without a stop for its achievement or for achieving a nearness to it as it is ever progressive. Because it is ever progressive one has to take infinite pains to make a near approach to it. According to Romain Rolland the ideal, therefore, ever remains an ideal and a fountain of ever-increasing inspiration. "Arise: Awake: And stop not till the Goal is reached."

On April 10, 1919, Romain Rolland wrote a letter to our great national and international poetic sage, Rabindranath Tagore. That

letter begins thus : " Certain free spirits, who feel the need of standing out against the almost universal oppression and servitude of intellect, have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of the Spirit, a copy of which I enclose."

The Declaration reads :

' Toilers of the spirit, companions, scattered all over the world, separated from one another for five years by armies, by censorship and hate of nations at war, we take this opportunity, when barriers are falling and frontiers are re-opening, of making an appeal to you to re-form your fraternal union, —but let it be a fresh union, firmer and stronger than the one which existed before.....

' Arise : Let us extricate the spirit from the compromises, these humiliating alliances, this secret slavery ! The spirit is the servant of none. It is we who are servants of the spirit. We have no other master. We are born to bear its torch, to defend it, to rally round it all those who have strayed. Our part, our duty is to maintain a fixed point, to point out the polar star, amindst the whirl of passions in the night. Amongst these passions of pride and mutual destruction, we shall choose none : we shall reject all. We serve Truth alone which is free. with no frontiers, with no limits, with no prejudices of race or caste.' (*Rolland and Tagore,* pp. 19-22.)

This Appeal is in time even now because almost similar conditions are obtaining now as they obtained after the first great war. All intelligent people are aware of the need for the freeing of the intellect, which amounts to the freeing of the spirit. The Spirit is another name for self-realisation and freedom. Hence the Declaration of Independence of the Spirit. Toilers of the Spirit, who are keen on freedom, have to combine to banish war-conditions, which curtailed and which still curtail our liberty in almost all spheres. The first casualty of war, truth, has to be revived. And then we can open up a new life of activity and spirit. A new life of activity, means service of truth alone, ' which is free, with no frontiers, with no limits with no prejudices of race or caste.' And to this polar star of truth we have to point, amidst the whirl of passions in the night. What are the passions of the night ? Romain Rolland knows man to be a human being, driven by passions and emotions. These passions and emotions he cannot avoid altogether. But he can certainly arrive at a synthesis of emotions and reason to behave like a cultured and refined person, able to discriminate between good and evil, right and wrong. Such a synthesis is his aim when he does not

exclude 'passions of the night.' Night signifies darkness, when the light of intellect or of the Spirit is encompassed by darkness of ignorance. So he wants to point to TRUTH, and this he can do if he is governed by reason, in the midst of passions of the night. Passions of the night will give him food for thought with the result that he will come in the neighbourhood of truth. To Romain Rolland Truth is not a problem, hard to solve or impossible to achieve. Like a rationalist he is just thinking of an attitude of mind. Like happiness, which is a mental state, truth also is a mental attitude, which one can achieve, after controlling one's emotions and passions. In this service of truth, or in its speedy achievement one will have to be strictly conscious of one's duty, which is to find nothing but truth in all its entirety. I might borrow William Lloyd Garrison's words to describe Romain Rolland as a rationalist. "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will be heard."

We have seen how Romain Rolland tried to be as harsh as truth and never minced matters, in the hope of final dawn of truth on mankind. But that time has yet to come when that truth becomes our possession. An over-critical mind night exclaim that Romain Rolland will yet take time to be heard, because truth is not our possession. We see all over the world an intensity of intolerance and hatred, resulting in an endless tale of sufferings for humanity. In our recent past Dr. Nicholas Roerich promulgated his "Roerich Pact And The Banner Of Peace." (April 15, 1935.) Yet Peace has not been achieved. Truth is still like a beautiful maiden, whose arrival we watch with care and expectancy. Why not remember our Aristophanes?

"From the murmur and subtlety of suspicion
With which we vex one another
Give us rest.
Make a new beginning
And mingle again the kindred of the nations in
The alchemy of love.
And with some finer essence of forbearance
Temper our minds."

FOOD PLANNING FOR BENGAL—IV

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II. CHOICE OF CROPS

IN the preceding section we have endeavoured to give an idea of the probable requirements of the principal food-stuffs for Bengal. Making an allowance for a total of 35 per cent. of the actual requirements on account of possible losses, seeds, provisions for emergency and increase of population, the total food-stuffs which will have to be procured either by domestic production or otherwise would be as follows :—

TOTAL PRINCIPAL FOOD-STUFFS REQUIRED FOR BENGAL

Food-stuffs	Million tons
Unmilled or lightly milled rice	8·37
Whole wheat flour	4·94
Pulses	3·37
Sugar	1·65
Milk and milk products	8·37
Fish and meat	3·37
Non-leafy vegetables	4·18
Green leafy vegetables	4·18
Edible oils	1·65
Fruits	2·56
Eggs	82 or 164 millions

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This means that our present output of different food-stuffs will have to be increased as follows :—

REQUIRED INCREASES IN THE OUTPUT OF DIFFERENT FOOD-STUFFS

Food-stuffs	Per cent.	Food-stuffs	Per cent.
Wheat or cereals (other than rice)	2,744	Fish and meat	749
Pulses	421	Vegetables	510
Sugar	262	Edible oils	1,100
Milk and milk products	670	Fruits	..
		Eggs	..

Rice is the only article which the Province at present produces almost just the amount required, provided it is taken with wheat or other cereals. It is difficult to calculate the required percentage increases in cases of fruits and eggs as there are no precis efigures for their present output. As compared to the percentage increases calculated above, those aimed at by the Advisory Board of the Imperial

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Council of Agricultural Research for different food-stuffs required for 400 million people of India are as follows :—

PERCENTAGE INCREASE AIMED AT BY THE ICAR

Food-stuffs	Per cent.	Food-stuffs	Per cent.
Cereals	.. 10	Vegetables	.. 100
Pulses	.. 20	Milk	.. 300
Fats and Oils	.. 250	Fish and eggs	.. 300
Fruits	.. 50		

The differences are obviously remarkable. But as our calculations would show, they are not over-estimates in any way. They are based on the optimum requirements of food-stuffs per head per year. Any planned drive for production of food in Bengal should aim at producing the principal food-stuffs noted above. But, if it is found, after exploring all avenues, that any one or more items cannot be produced in full within the Province, then either other items which can serve as possible substitutes will have to be raised in greater quantities than given in the table or arrangements should be made for their import from outside the Province. The possibilities of growing within the Province different food-stuffs required would be discussed in these series of articles.

As the resources of the Province are not unlimited our first attempts should be directed to ensuring our own food supply. When a fair degree of sufficiency has been ensured in respect of food-stuffs attention would be given to the production of other necessary agricultural products. But the different agricultural products, *viz.*, food-stuffs, fodder, and raw materials, ultimately resolve themselves into different crops. Even meat, milk and different milk products are nothing but conversions and condensations of crops. So, the planning of agricultural production will ultimately mean the planned production of different crops. That is to say, a judicious choice of crops lies at the foundation of agricultural planning.

The choice of crops in a planned production would be fundamentally different from that in a laissez faire economy. Under the latter only those crops are selected which pay best. That is, the gain to the individual farmer is the primery determining factor behind the nature as well as the quantities of crops raised. But under a planned production those crops that are required most will be selected, and the primary determining factors would be their need for, and ultimate gain to the community as a whole. Here, like the house-wife who distributes her limited resources to the satisfaction of the different needs of her different household members in propertions that would

fetch the total maximum satisfaction, the Community or some body else, naturally the State, acting on behalf of the Community should apportion the available land to the production of various crops so as to afford the maximum net gain not to any individual but to the entire community and not from the standpoint of pure economics only but also from those of political integrity, national self-defence and of national self-sufficiency.

Under a planned economy the choice of field crops would depend upon the following factors :—

(1) the respective needs and importance of the different crops as food for human beings, fodder for animals, fuel, and as raw materials for industry ;

(2) the availability of suitable land for growing different crops ; and

(3) the comparative advantages of producing these crops at home and of importing them from abroad.

After these factors have been determined, the order of choice as regards the crops to the raised at home would be as follows :—

First, crops supplying the essential requirements of human consumption, which in this country are rice, wheat, pulses including gram, sugarcane, potato, maize, barley, etc.

Secondly, crops required for fodder, on the production of which depend the cattle wealth and ultimately the valuable livestock and dairy industries of a country. In the United States where fodder crops are considered as important as the crops of human consumption it has been said : " Cattle and hogs not only convert but also condense Indian corn (maize)." Milk and milk products, two most important food-stuffs of man, are nothing but conversions and condensations of fodder crops. So also is meat. That is why fodder crops come next to essential food crops.

Thirdly, crops serving as fuel primarily for domestic uses.

Fourthly, crops serving as raw materials for industries, *e.g.*, jute, cotton, wool, etc.

But since we are concerned here with only food planning we would consider here food and fodder crops only, leaving the other two.

III. Estimated requirements of Land for growing the necessary Crops

(1) *Rice*

It may be pointed out at the outset that food or agricultural planning must be preceded by or at least be accompanied with a thorough overhaul of our entire agricultural system. There must have to be simultaneous drives on all fronts, that is to say, all aspects of agriculture must be taken together, and the period of operation should be fairly long, say at least 10 years, within which the plan, either wholly or a specified part, is to be carried out. Assuming a simulatneous drive on different fronts such as irrigation, drianage, change of existing land-tenure, application of scientific appliances and methods of production, etc., we can hope to get an enhanced yield per acre of all crops. Indeed, the first objective of the planning authorities should be to increase the yield per acre since it is almost universally recognised that the yield per acre in India is very low.

Present Yield is almost the lowest in the World

So far rice is concerned it is almost a truism to say that the present yield per acre in India as also in Bengal is the lowest as compared with the yields in other important countries of the world.

Comparative Yields of Rice per Acre in Different Countries (1935) [1]

Country	Yield per Acre		Per cent. of yield in
	In pounds (lbs.)	In maunds	Bengal
Bengal	884	10.7	100.0
India	828	10.0	93.4
Spain	5,542	67.5	630.8
Italy	4,743	57.8	540.1
Egypt	3,179	38.7	361.7
Japan	2,988	36.4	340.1
U.S.A.	2,138	26.0	242.0

Thus, it will be seen that the yield in Bengal as also in India is the lowest as compared with those in the principal rice-growing countries of the world. Japan produces per acre more than 3 times the produce of India. Yet it is not long when the conditions of her agriculture were as those of ours to-day. Japan has increased her total production of rice by 88 per cent. since 1880. Three-fourths of this increase has been due to higher yield per acre and only one-fourth to extension in the area under cultivation. This

[1] The figures in Column 2 are taken from the Bengal Paddy and Rice Enquiry Committee Report, p. 71; those in Col. 3 are converted from lbs. to mds., one maund being equal to 82 lbs.

is, indeed, a remarkable record and, as observed by Orchard, it has been mainly due to the skill of the Japanese farmers who are expert in maintaining soil fertility and "enforcing the land to bring forth larger yields." The output of rice per acre for 5 years, 1921-1925, averaged 2,350 lbs. as compared with only 1,076 lbs. in the U.S.A., another land of intensive cultivation.[2] Even in China where the methods and practices of cultivation are still very backward, the yield of paddy has been estimated to be as much as 45 mds. per acre,[3] that is, roughly 30 mds. or 2,460 lbs. of rice to the acre. So, India gives the poorest show even among the countries of the East. The all-India average for 5 years ending 1942-43 is only 738 lbs., which is even lower than that noted in the above table.

Causes of Low Yield : Possibilities of Increase

Let it be noted that the causes of the low yield of paddy and of most other crops in India do not lie in the fact that she is an old country and, as such, the limiting point of the productivity of her land has already been reached. For, Egypt and China are no less old than India, yet the yields of paddy in these two countries are respectively $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 times that of India. Comparing Bengal with Japan Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee has said that neither the land in Bengal is less fertile than that of Japan, nor the Bengalees are less industrious than the Japanese. The apparent inferiority of Bengal's agriculture in comparison with that of Japan, he observes, is due to (*i*) lack of good seeds, (*ii*) absence of the practice of using night soil as manure, and (*iii*) greater fragmentations of holdings prevalent in the Province.[4] When these defects will have been removed and science applied to agriculture there is no reason why our yield per acre will not have given a better show. Whatever little experiments have hitherto been made in the matter go to support our contention. Dr. Burns has observed that given ample water and ample manure rice fields throughout the whole of India can be forced very much higher. "Manurial experiments carried out in many places and over many years throughout India indicate that Indian yields can be increased very much if fertilizers are available. Increases may be anything from 20 to 150 per cent. according to the variety, soil, climate and season."[5] He has further observed that

[2] Orchard, "Japan's Economic Position (1930), p. 84.
[3] Land Revenue Commission Report, Bengal, Vol. II, App. IX, p. 84.
[4] Mukherjee's Oral Evidence before the Land Revenue Commission *Vide* Report, Vol. VI, p. 578.
[5] Burns, "Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India," p. 52.

transplanted rice in really good conditions may give 3,000 lbs. (*i.e.* 36.5 maunds) per acre, and where there has been good manuring and personal attention on certain well-run estates in South India even 4,000 lbs. (48.7 maunds) have been obtained.[6]

So the prospects of increasing the yield of paddy in India by the application of fertilizers are very bright. The only important thing to be noted in this connection is that the fertilizers must be cheap relatively to the value of the enhanced yield, that is, the additional crop produced by the use of fertilizers. But cheap and effective manuring is merely one of the several principal ways by which the yield of paddy can be increased. Besides manuring, provision of improved seeds, irrigation and drainage facilities, better crop rotation, and protection from pests and diseases are the other chief means through which the yield can be enhanced.

Taking India as a whole, the probable increment in yield due to various factors noted above would be, according to Dr. Burns, about 55 per cent. manuring, giving 40 per cent. improved seeds to 10 per cent., and protection against pests 5 per cent. But on a conservative estimate the increased yield is considered to be 30 per cent. per acre.

A 30 per cent. increase in yield would bring the present Bengal average of 884 lbs. per acre to 1,149 lbs. per acre.[7] As compared with this prospective yield, the actual results of experiments carried on paddy in different farms of the Bengal Department of Agriculture throughout the Province are noted below :—

RESULTS OF EXPERIMENTS ON PADDY IN THE DEPARTMENTAL FARMS, BENGAL[8]

Farm	Yield of Paddy (lbs. per acre) 1938-39 Aus	1938-39 Aman	1939-40 Aus	1939-40 Aman
Eastern Circle :				
(*i*) Dacca	1,197	1,690	744	1,444
(*ii*) Mymensingh	..	..	..	2,189
(*iii*) Comilla	3,794@		3,271@	..
(*iv*) Barisal	..	..	2,189@	..
(*v*) Kishoreganj	1,930	1,088	977	1,115
(*vi*) Jamalpur	1,052	1,680	692	1,411
(*vii*) Dhanbari	866	1,680	1,300	1,612
(*viii*) Charbanda	..	15,16	..	1,660
(*ix*) Rajbari	17	...	638	..
Western Circle :				
Bankura	..	..	2,378	2,673

@Combined Yield

[6] Burns, Article on " A Bird's Eye View of Indian Agriculture " in the *Statesman* of October 20, 1940.

[7] In terms of paddy the yield would be 1,723 lbs. per acre.

[8] Compiled from figures given in the Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Bengal, for 1939-40, Part II.

The lands of Western Bengal are generally found to be less fertile than those of Eastern Bengal. But it has been found that by the application of irrigation water as also oil-cakes or sulphate of ammonia the yield of paddy per acre in the western regions of Bengal has been as high as 30 mds. or about 2,460 lbs.[9]

It may be observed that in almost all the progressive countries of the world the outturn per acre of land has increased considerably in the course of some decades through the progressive application of scientific methods of cultivation, extensive use of fertilizers and improved varieties of seeds, and greater knowledge of plant breeding. In most of these matters Germany held the leading position in the world. Next came Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, etc. These countries increased the prdouctivity of their soil from 50 to 100 per cent.[10] Subsequently other important countries, including Denmark, France and Russia, also applied with great profit scientific methods of farming. Modern science has shown such enormous potentialities of increasing and improving the Agricultural products of a country that Prince Kropotkin once observed: "There is not one nation in the world, which being armed with the present powers of agriculture, could not grow on its cultivable area all the food and most of the raw materials derived from agriculture, which are required for its population, even if the requirements of that population were to rapidly increase as they certainly ought to be."[11]

Granting, therefore, suitable arrangements for irrigation and drainage, application of sufficient quantities of organic and inorganic manures, and the adoption of up-to-date means and methods of agriculture, it can be assumed that the yield of paddy or husked rice per acre could be, with compararively little difficulty, increased to 25 maunds or 2,050 lbs. In terms of clean or husked rice the yield would roughly be $16\frac{2}{3}$ mds. or 1,366 lbs. From the results of experiments so far carried on all over India our assumption is a modest one. We hope and believe that the average yield per acre could be enhanced still further and be brought in par with other rice-growing countries of the world. It may be pointed out that an average yield of paddy of 25 mds. per acre works out at roughly 8 mds. per bigha (about one-third acre). A yield of 8 to 10 mds. per bigha is even to-day common in many parts of the Province. The

[9] From a Note submitted by Messrs. Imperial Chemical Industries (India), Ltd. on the Questionnaire issued by the Bengal Paddy and Rice Enquiry Committee.
[10] *Cf.* Gangulee, 'Problems of Rural India' (Calcutta University), 1928, pp. 22-3.
[11] Quoted by Dr. Gangulee, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

'Bengal Season and Crop Report' of 1935-36 gives the normal yield of paddy per acre as 24 mds. The Bengal Land Revenue Commission, while emphasising the need of increasing the yield, have pointed out that in the estate of late Sir Daniel Hamilton at Gosaba the average yield has been 30 mds. per acre. The Director of Agriculture, Bengal, told the Commission that at Brahmanbaria Subdivision in the district of Tippera an outturn of 54 mds. per acre had been obtained annually for over a period of 5 years. Professor K. B. Saha also observes that earlier experiments made at Government Agricultural Farms in various parts of Bengal prove that the yield of paddy can with little efforts be raised to 30 mds. or even more per acre.[12] Hence an average prospective yield of 25 mds. or 2,050 lbs. of paddy per acre is not at all an impracticable proposition.

Rice Acreage under the Plan

Now, on the estimated yield of 2,050 lbs. of paddy or 1,366 lbs. of clean rice per acre, the total land required to produce 8.4 million tons of rice necessary, according to our estimate, for the Province would be about 13,774,524 or roughly 13.8 million acres.

In view of the fact that, notwithstanding a far larger area having been devoted so far for growing rice, the Province has been running a deficit our estimate of the total deficit required to make the Province self-sufficient may appear to be surprising at the first glance. But it should not be forgotten that our estimate is based upon two things, *viz.*, (1) a change of the present dietary on the lines suggested earlier and (2) an enhancement of the average yield per acre, which again presupposes an all-round agricultural development.

Next we shall see the acreages of other food-crops required under the plan.

[12] Saha, 'Economics of Rural Bengal' (1936), p. 72.

ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY

M. C. SAMADDAR

WHEN I wrote my first article on this subject entitled 'A New Basis for Historical Enquiry,' I circulated it widely. Among those receiving it were a few of the best known authorities on Indian history. I wanted to elicit orthodox opinion on the application of modern historical methods to the rewriting of Indian history. Not that what I had written was anything particularly valuable. It was an explanatory article, and sought to illustrate how the general principles of historical enquiry could be applied to India. It was intended to provoke thought. The comments it provoked from the authorities of orthodox Indian history was lukewarm praise for myself but a shrug of the shoulders for my heresy. A majority of the notable Indian historians maintained a discret silence, only a few sent in their comments when I wrote them personal letters asking for their opinion.

Two of the comments lead to the principles of historical enquiry and I would dwell on them in this paper. One authority wrote to say that there was nothing new about the principles. I do not claim originality for them, I only wanted to emphasise that they have not been applied to India. The gentleman who wrote that there was nothing new about the principles has written a standard book on Indian history, but neither the principles have been applied nor any reason given why they were not applied. In his comment on my article he did not indicate whether the principles were correct or not, or even whether they were applicable to India or not.

The second gentleman said that the principles had influence of European historical methods and that in his opinion was regrettable when Europe's history could not date as far back as India's. This is an important point. To us it seems hardly a valid objection, but having been a student of history under some of the leading scholars of the orthodox Indian variety I think this issue is of great importance. Historians have a tendency, partially natural, to be in love with antiquities though from a more rational viewpoint the importance of a fact lies in the degree and manner in which it contributed to the subsequent developments rather than mere antiquity. The

realisation of this great difference between the attitude of the revivalist orthodox Indian Historians and the scientific historian is of considerable importance towards the development of a proper system of historical enquiry in this country. The revivalist historian is interested in *age* primarily and in *influence* only secondarily. The scientific historian is interested in influence more and age is to him a very necessary background to view in proper perspective and depth the influences at work. The emphasis on *age* proceeds out of history not yet been able to grow out its knee-pant days of being mere chronology. History is not merely the story of a country, it is the story of a people with the country as the setting. It is a social science and the enquiry therefore is related to the various other social sciences. Geography has been described as the description of the earth as the home of man, or in other words, a study of the cultural landscape. The cultural landscape is a view of a geographical region as it has influenced those living in it and the changes effected in the geographical region by those living there. That is, the cultural landscape is a complex of the habitat, economy and society, if by habitat we understand the topography, climate and natural resources of a region, by economy we understand the means and modes of production, and by society we understand the cultural superstructure of the life of the people. Various forces work in the development of this complex and it is not possible to lay down that one force works to even the near exclusion of others. History is the science of studying the evolution of the cultural landscape. How do we study this evolution? By adopting the simple principle of scientific investigation that every effect must have a cause or causes and that these can be discovered. When we discover the causes generally leading to a particular development of the cultural landscape, we find the links between the two different cultural landscape, of the later cultural landscape and of the process of transformation. The fixing of different kinds of cultural landscapes can be done by more than one method. If we only fix *types* and a general view of evolution, the investigation is geographical. If we only fix the *productivity*, the study is about technology and is of interest to engineers or economists. If we fix the *relationship between the component human parts* of the society, the study is purely sociological, or let us say, political. But a sense of time (as opposed to space in geography, productivity in economics, and human relationship in politics) is necessary to focus the view properly and study

of the sequence of cultural landscape with proper consideration of the evolutionary process, the influence at work and the time taken over it, is history. Its importance to other sociological sciences is apparent, and need not be discussed here because we are primarily concerned with the method of enquiry.

What I have generally outlined above is what should be meant by that much used and badly used term historical materialism. On a world basis Marx and Engles continued the work of earlier rationalists, particularly the historian Vico, and outlined the types of cultural landscape since primitive communism to capitalism. They made a more detailed study of the antique (Greek) society, of feudalism and capitalism. They speculated about socialism and communism. They not only indicated the *types* but also discussed *productivity* and the *human relationships*. They had a sense of *time*, and as far as Europe was concerned the chronological study was fairly painstaking and thorough. Marx and Engles indicated also the principles of evolution, the various forces at work and the most valuable lesson of history that evolution of the cultural landscape from one stage to another proceeds not as a result of any extra-human interference but as a process of dynamics of the complex is only relatively stable, it is not a perfect equilibrium. The relative stability of the cultural picture overall picture includes minor anomalies which through dynamics become major anomalies necessitating adjustments to reach relative stability on a higher plane. The Marxian speculation about communism being the destiny of mankind and the emphasis on economic forces being the main determining factor led to many extravagant historical assumptions. Marx's work was carried on by many people, but from a historical viewpoint the contributions of Max Eastman, to the study of social conditions in antiquity and during the middle ages deserve mention though they suffer from an exaggerated emphasis on the purely economic influences at work. The inadequecy of a purely Marxist historical approach was best revealed in the study of Chinese history. The peculiar form of social evolution of China could not be understood without taking into consideration, along with the economic influences at work, the limitations imposed by the habitat in the shape of deficiency in cattle and also by the social and cultural forces in the shape of Confucianism (see M. N. Roy's *Revolution and Counter-revolution in China*). The influence of social factors is more noticeable in Africa and in the presence of any number of scattered tribes all over the world who

even today have a stone age or bronge age economy. Habitat is sometimes an influence at work, but in Asia there are indications that these tribes have migrated long distances to reach their present inhospitable habitats. In Malaya, Indonesia and in India foreigners have found that resources (including plantations whose extraction does not require any particular developed technology) in the homes of these primitive tribes which the aboriginal inhabitants would make no use of. The migration as well as the indifference to natural resources can only be explained if we examine the social, cultural and political influences at work. Neither the habitat nor the economy are responsible for the primitive societies; it is the refusal to take to the economy of another people—probably victors in a far distant tribal war. When the natural or geographical (habitat) and economic determinism do not work, the cultural superstructure works. This factor has often been missed and the fault has been laid at the door of the innate racial inferiority of the primitive tribes. To habitat and economic determinism was added a third determinism, that of inheritance or race, (see C. Danyl Forde's *Habitat, Economy and Society*). Race determinism is neither physical nor material. It is merely the ideological and cultural apathy of a tribe losing in war to an economically higher tribe towards adopting the economy of the victors. It is non-co-operation and boycott. It looks silly but this alone can explain the position of the aboriginals of India and of various primitive tribes elsewhere. It would not look as silly as it superficially does if we bear in mind that at the time of primitive tribal communism acceptance of defeat in war meant enslaved. The hatred of slavery which to a primitive mind would be directly related to acceptance of the new fangled economy (the primitive mind cannot see the relationship between cause and effect and only sees the association. See the origin of homoeopathic magic in Frazer's *Golden Bough*) would prompt the boycott. Probably, the corroboration is available in the fact that the aboriginals who were absorbed in the new Aryan economy became slaves and untouchables and those who migrated to the hills remain still free though primitive. It is political determinism. Sometimes religion would act in the same manner and so we see the ideological determinism is operation, either socially, politically or religiously. There might be vested interests in the leadership of the relatively more primitive tribe to reinforce the ideological forces at work. Cultural determinism (though it is in itself influenced by habitat and economy)

sometimes operates successfully against economic and habitat determinism. It is a factor that must be recognised. Cultural determinism is a more satisfactory explanation than the innate inferiority of races or other forms of racial determinism.

The Marxian methodology of history has been applied to archaeology and pre-history by C. Gordeon Childe (see *Man Makes Himself*) and he has described revolutions in the stone-age. Though he has largely relied upon economic determinism for his deductions, the study is fairly convincing. An elaboration of it to unravel habitat and cultural determinism would considerably enrich our knowledge of pre-history and would enable us to link pre-history with history.

So far with the broad principles of historical research on a world basis. What about its application to smaller units like countries and provinces? When I wrote my article on 'New Basis of Historical Enquiry' I wanted to draw attention to the study of the sequence of the cultural landscape in India. The linking of pre-history and history would be particularly helpful in clearing the mists about the hoariness of the Indian civilisation and historical records. The Archaeological Survey of India is at present engaged on much explanatory work on stone-age sites in India, particularly in the South, and it can be confidently expected that the results would enable to fix the continuous and global nature of both the palaeolithic and neolithic ages.

Recent researches in Soviet Russia have taken the frontiers of the neolithic culture northwards to the suburbs of Leningrad and that of the Neanderthal palaeolithic culture to as far east and north as the Central Asian deserts. Palaeolithic Neanderthal skulls and skeletons are found in Europe, in Middle East, in China, in Java and now in Central Asia. Henry Fairfield Osborne (see his *Men of the Old Stone Age*) who made the first comprehensive study of palaeolithic races, particularly the Neanderthal, had established anatomical and cultural close relationship between the fossil Neanderthals of Europe and the contemporary natives of Australia. He went to the extent of saying that the Neanderthals lived over entire Eurasia till overcome and assimilated with the later peoples like the neolithic Cromagnons. A point in his favour was the dog, an associate of the fossil Neanderthal, and the only domesticated animal of the Australian natives, and one of the very few animals that have crossed to Australia from the Asiatic mainland. Osborne's work was followed by the discovery of Neanderthal types in Wales,

and close resemblane (both physiognomical as well as cultural) between the Neanderthal fossils and the Veddahs of India. This led to the theory of primitive races surviving only in the periphery of the Eurasian landmass (the Africans being a sort of peninsular projection cut off by the Bearing Strait) by the subsequent and better developed races. If a map is constructed of the globe, the tribes with the most primitive physiognomy and economy are the most remote from the centre of the Eurasiatic landmass and the highest physical, economic and cultural development is noticed over the main mass of Eurasia or in the lands colonised in modern times therefrom. The layers were : Neanderthalic Tasmanians, Australians and Veddahs ; Negritoes and Pygmies ; Negroids ; Mediterraneans and Dravidians ; and Nordics and Alpines.

This theory of peripheral survival of primitive peoples was further corroborated by researches in biological distribution. Plants and animals are also distributed more or less on the same pattern. Though generally the older a species the larger area it occupied, the dying out species survive only in isolated peripheral locations. Widely distributed older species (technical term—the wides) are highly evolved and adaptable to the variations of climate and habitat over the area. The dying out species are not able to adapt themselves to the changed climate or to meet the competition of better developed species. Of course there are the endemic varieties with local distribution but they are possible in plants only where variations become quickly fixed as specific characters (see J. C. Willis' *Age and Area*).

The illustration of parallelism from biological distribution should be taken only as an illustration. It is not a formula. In human affairs neither biological nor physical nor topographical nor economic laws operate in the same manner as they would do where consciousness is no factor. Human beings are biological, but being conscious they behave a good deal differently from plants and animals. Biological and physical laws have only a general application over human affairs and very frequently they are offset by human consciousness. We have seen how habitat and economic determinism are set at naught by human consciousness or its manifestation cultural determinism. The process of habitat and economic determinism are also accelerated by human consciousness.

Another caution is necessary here. Among human beings the primitive people on the periphery of the civilized world are remnants

of a once world-wide population. The remnants being scattered from Western Europe to Australia, or from Central Africa to Malaya, indicate that these primitive people inhabited the extensive intervening area. This is in conformity with the *Age* and *Area* principles or biological distribution.

The remnants are, however, not racial remnants as the biological illustration might lead one to suppose. They are more economic and cultural. We can recognise the Neanderthal in the Australian or the Veddah because of the fact that these tribes did not abandon their economy and culture. In Wales they are not easily recognisable and had to be fixed by shifting craniametric investigation. The steatopygy bushmen, Negroes and others enter in the population of Europe but cannot be found out for the tribal characters are not preserved. The tribal identity went away with the tribal economy and culture. The Eskimoes of Soviet Russia are becoming Europeanised and you can sometimes hardly tell of an American Negro from a South European or Indian.

There is considerable evidence that the Palaeolithic and Neolithic cultures were almost co-extensive with the hospitable areas of Eurasia. There is reason to believe that the Palaeolithic culture in India was contemporaneous with the Palaeolithic culture in the Middle East and probably Europe too. It is definite that the Neolithic culture in Europe, the Middle East and in India existed at more or less the same time. The evidence is in the articles found in Egypt, Crete, Sumer, India and Spain, which were traded in between these countries of the neolithic world. It is possible to argue that Europe being just glaciated the warmer countries of Asia and the Middle East had a slightly earlier development than those of Central or Northern Europe. The difference would be few thousands years, but because in Europe itself the neolithic lasted almost 25,000 years, the difference of a few thousand years would not lend an earlier neolithic site the credit of possessing a special genius. The neolithic period did not, like the iron age or the copper age make the discovery of a new medium for making tools and so cannot be said to have developed at one jump. It was an age in which better stone tools, hunting, and garden agriculture made a higher type of life possible than in the old stone age. It must have taken a few milleniums to be accomplished, and the contributions to human knowledge and culture must have come from a number of places. Therefore, it is hardly possible to say that Indian Civilization is of a longer duration than that of

Europe. In the neolithic period they have a contemporaneous development of culture and civilization ; in antique times China, India and Greece had all at the same time a similar civilization. In the feudal age also the developments were more or less contemporaneous ; only in the modern age Europe has stolen a march. Even this gap between European and Indian developments is noticeable because the tempo of development is so much faster now that differences can be noticed.

Age not being the predominant consideration, *influence* can be given more attention. It is not re-writing Indian history to satisfy our national vanity, to show to the vanquishing Europeans that we have been more civilized than they are, or the preach to the people a political doctrine of racial revolt. Our history should enable us to understand how our present cultural landscape has developed. The various influences at work at various times have to be discovered and examined.

There have been two kinds of history in India. One kind described India's backwardness owing to the emasculation of the people by the enervating climate, and the other was revivalist and vaguely hinted that foreign conquest hampered India's development. Both the types have been obsessed by foreign conquest. The first went to the extreme of suggesting a permanent slavery. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* is a history of India written with political motives. One is to prove India's unity, and another to explain India's backwardness. The latter is ascribed to foreign conquest. But foreign conquest cannot be an accident. It must have a cause or several causes. Since India's enervating climate is hardly a satisfactory answer, the causes must be social and political. Social and political causes contributing to India' conquest by the British or earlier by the Muslims could not have arisen overnight. The fact is that India's social and economic backwardness was responsible for its falling a prey to successive conquerors. The difference between a foreign conquest and internal revolution is that whereas the latter removes the social and economic backwardness, the former takes advantage of the backwardness and perpetuates them.

Having dispelled the idea that India's civilization is of greater antiquity than that of Europe, that India's backwardness is due to foreign conquest, and having outlined a few general principles and the aims of historical enquiry, I expect that the preliminary work could be finished at an early date if we proceeded to the next

stage, that is of the sources of history that shall be written according to the scientific principles. It is not possible within this small paper to deal with that subject for it will need even at the outset of that discussion to examine the sources being utilised at present and to indicate the new sources. It will be sufficient to state here that the sources are wider than that of epigraphy, archaeological remains and numismatics that are being mostly used today. The present discussion should have illustrated that the methods of scientific history follow closely the methods of palaeontology and archaeology, and can draw on biological, anthropological, economic, physiographical and post-pliestocene stratigraphical researches for confirmation of its deductions. The sources of historical enquiry are considerably widened and that is to the advantage of the science and should be therefore welcomed by Indian historians.

Round the World

Transfer of Power—

The Independence Act passed by the British Parliament a few weeks ago was implemented on the 15th of August last and political power was transferred to the authorities of the two Dominions—India and Pakistan —which were brought into being on that day. This was the culmination of the dual struggle for political power which was being conducted on an intensive scale during the last few years. The fight for freedom which had been started more than a century ago and which since 1885 had been carried on under the auspices of the Indian National Congress was directed against British authority and had for its object the withdrawal of that authority from all corners of India which was to be administered on a unified basis for Indians by Indians themselves. The Indian muslims, however, did not mostly feel comfortable as partners of other Indians in the national struggle which the Congress represented. Instigated and assisted by both official and non-official agents of British Power in India and feeling themselves an urge for a separatist struggle of their own, they set up the Muslim League in 1906 and have ever since rallied round it as the forum of their political activity. During and after the first World War there was of course a good amount of fraternisation between the two organisations. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 and the joint conduct of the non-cooperation and Khilafat movements were the results of this fraternisation. Adversity makes strange bed-fellows. Congress opposition to British Power was there all the time. But the Musilm opposition to British Imperialism was the outcome of British policy towards several Islamic countries, particularly Turkey. So on the basis of this common opposition the Congressites and the Khilafatists joined hands and started a common fight against the continuance of British Power in India.

It was, however, only a happy interlude. Cooperation remined effective only for a short period, followed again by a parting of the ways. The Indian National Congress stuck to its gun and continued its struggle against the British Government according to its own technique and in pursuit of its own ideals. The Muslims, divided at first in opinions and ideals, gradually found their way back to the road which was to lead them to Pakistan. The Muslim League which had become weakened in the intervening years was vivified by Mr. Jinnah after his return from temporary exile in England in 1934. From that time onward, it became increasingly a force to be reckoned with and by 1940 it became unrivalled in its claim of loyalty and

support of the Indian Muslims. Separatist in its origin and policy, it was at first emphasising the separate entity of the Muslims in the Indian politic. It did not want to divide that body but to remain within it only as a separate personality. But by 1940 it went to the logical extent of its policy and instead of continuing as a state within a state, it demanded the formation of a separate state for the Muslims. It is this policy which reached its culmination on August 15 in the establishment of Pakistan. To the extent that the Muslim League triumphed in this respect, the Indian National Congress was defeated in its aim and policy. The latter had stood on the platform of Indian unity and fought for the independence of the whole of India as an entity. But by 1942 when the Muslim League had raised the Pakistan demand for only two years, the Congress resiled from this position and adopted a resolution by which it conceded the right of secession to those parts of the country which were unwilling to remain within the Indian Union. So by agreement, though contrary to the original ideals of the Congress, division of India was decided upon and June 3 Plan as adumbrated by the British Cabinet in consultation with Lord Mountbatten was accepted. On the basis of this Plan the provinces of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam were divided and large parts of these provinces along with Sind, Beluchistan and the North-Western Frontier Province were included in the new Dominion of Pakistan.

So, it may be repeated, the battle for freedom which the Congress has fought for over sixty years has only partially been won while the fight for Pakistan which the Muslim League has conducted only for five years has ended in complete victory. On the side of the Congress again the cup of glory remains half full in another respect as well. All the States have not at the time of writing acceded to the Dominion of India. The State of Hyderabad which is not only surrounded by territories of the Indian Dominion but more than eighty-five per cent of whose people are Hindus and as such enthusiastic about joining the Indian Dominion has in the interests of the ruling house and a small minority of the people still kept out. It is even threatening not only to remain out but through British recognition to declare its full independence. The State of Kashmir which occupies so important a strategic position in the country has also so far held aloof. Then again the State of Junagar which is located far away from either wing of Pakistan but has direct sea communications with that State has declared its intention to acceede to it. This will complicate the position of other Kathiawar territories which will be included in the Indian Dominion. It should also be noticed that the States which have acceded to the Dominion of India have also done it on the specific condition of surrendering to it only the powers in respect of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. This is no doubt a temporary arrangement and the picture will be more clear when the new

Constitution will be finally adopted and the time for the States to join the Union on the basis of this new Constitution will arrive. But even then it is not only expected that the States as units will be very different from provinces but what is more it is very likely that some powers and functions which it may be essential for the Central Government to exercise may have to be left to the States. So the picture may not be as we desire it to be. On the other side, however, it should be said that at the start of the Indian Union the States may join only on their own terms, but gradually the impelling forces of time and circumstance will work and the States may become as full partners of the Indian Union as the provinces.

For the moment, however, the division of India into two Dominions, the non-accession of some of the important States and the accession of the rest on a very limited basis took away considerably from the merriment for which the operation of the Indian Independence Act on August 15 provided the occasion. Not that the transfer of power was not celebrated properly and fittingly in different parts of the country. But the thinking mind was disturbed by these considerations to a great extent. The continuance of communal riots in the Punjab also interfered with the proper celebration of the occasion in that part of the country. In Calcutta where up to the forenoon of the previous day the situation was far from encouraging, a sudden change came over the city mostly because of the presence of Mahatma Gandhi. If any new illustration of the great will power of Mahatmaji was ever necessary, it was amply provided by the sudden transformation of the situation in Calcutta on Independence eve.

One of the important aspects of the celebration of the Independence day was the hoisting of the flag which was adopted sometime ago by the Constituent Assembly for India. It is the old Congress tricolour flag with Asoka-Chakra embossed in the middle. It was not only hoisted by appropriate persons on public buildings but there was a great display of the flag on private houses and in endless processions which marked the occasion. In one colour the flag represented the Hindus, in another the mulslims and in the third the other communities, while the chakra represented movement towards light and progress. We wish the flag adopted for Pakistan was equally liberal in spirit. It is of course true that the old Muslim League flag was considerably modified before its adoption as the official flag of the Pakistan State. It is not, however, tricolour. It is bi-colour. The major portion represents the Muslims and the white portion the minorities. It should be borne in mind in this connection that the proportion of muslims to the total population of India is far smaller than the proportion of Hindus to the total population of Pakistan. It would have been appropriate on this account to concede to the Hindus a special place of their own in the Pakistan flag just as a special place was given to the Muslims in the flag of India. A suggestion was to this effect

made at the time the Pakistan Constituent Assembly was considering the pattern of the Pakistan flag. But it made no impression on those who made the design.

Sometimes in processions and meetings was noticed the flag of a party alongside the official flag of the Dominion of India. Reports of a dispute about hoisting two flags in close association were also received. It should be remembered in this connection that the flag of a state has a dignity, a sanctity and a special position of its own. It ought to stand unrivalled by any competitor. Whether in India or in Pakistan there can be no occasion to fly the state flag and a party flag together. A party cannot be a rival of the state. Nor is it appropriate to fly a party flag alongside the state flag by way of displaying party's friendship for the state. Such friendship or better loyalty has to be taken for granted. It is loyal to the state otherwise it cannot be allowed to exist. On the other hand the display of the party flag alongside the flag of the state may give out the impression that the party regards itself as a rival of the state and desires to engulf it whenever opportunity may occur. The flags of two states may of course fly together but that only on appropriate occasions *e.g.*, when the two states fight side by side against a common enemy and may set up a common headquarters for the purpose. Over the headquarters camp the two flags may possibly fly side by side. Similarly while celebrating a common victory, the citizens of the two states which had fought as allies might fly the two state flags together. But neither in India nor in Pakistan the people were celebrating a common victory. They were each celebrating the birth of their freedom as a separate entity. Consequently there was no occasion for rivalling one flag by another. Our ideas about hoisting the state flag should be more clear than they are. Possibly the Government of India would issue positive and definite instructions as to the occasions when the flag should fly, as to the persons who may fly it and as to the way it should fly.

Suggestion of a Coalition Ministry in Provinces—

A suggestion has been put forward that in provinces particularly in West and East Bengal and in West and East Punjab the Ministries should be coalition in character. The Central Governments of India and Pakistan have been recently formed without any Muslim League element in the former and any Congress element in the latter. Nor could any exception be taken to this arrangement. On the same analogy any suggestion of a Congress-League coalition in the provinces ought to have been turned down without ceremony. Instead, at the time of writing, it appears that the suggestion is being seriously considered. This is regrettable. It should be remembered in this connection that the Muslim League is not an ordinary political party. It is not only a communal organisation

but it has claimed to be the mouthpiece of a nation which is separate and distinct from the other nation representing the rest of the people of the country. It was under the auspices of this organisation that the demand for a separate state for the Muslim nation was initiated and pushed forward by diverse methods and means. This demand has now been met and a separate state of Pakistan has been constituted. But although Pakistan has been achieved on the basis of the two-nation theory, actually there is still a large body of Muslims in India and a large body of non-Muslims in Pakistan. The Muslims in India still owe allegiance at least to a large extent to the Muslim League. Their representatives in the legislatures are at any rate mostly, if not universally, members of the Muslim League. Consequently it may be argued that as Muslims should not be excluded from the cabinets, coalition with the Muslim League is desirable. This organisation has not, however, either changed its creed or otherwise altered its aims and objects. In fact the basis of its strength and popularity remains what it was. In view of this any coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League in the composition of the Cabinets will be only disruptive in character. Oil and water would not mix. It should be known that the next few months will be only a period of transition during which the Cabinets will carry on the government pending the operation of the new constitution. So if during this period the Muslims do not get their due representation in the executive, it would not matter much. During this period they will have proper opportunity to change the ideal and creed of the party to which they would like to belong and when the new constitution is brought into operation they may get returned to the legislature on a ticket acceptable to their electors. It is expected that by that time they will be convinced that after fulfilment of the Muslim League objective and the division of India, it is no longer open to them to belong to a party whose aims and objects might be inconsistent with full loyalty to the state to which they belong. In any event they should be required to wait till then. It may be pointed out that if the representatives of the Muslim League are not taken into the Cabinet in Indian provinces, the representatives of the Congress may not be taken into the Cabinets in Pakistan provinces. But what harm will be done if during the period of transition Hindus representing the Congress are not taken into Cabinets in Pakistan provinces? Protection of minority rights includes of course adequate representation of the minority interests in the supreme executive, either central or provincial. But the safe-guard of other minority interests should not necessarily be dependent upon the inclusion of the accredited representatives of the minorities in the supreme executive directories. During the period of transition, particularly, the minorities are in the exclusive charge of the representatives of the majority community. The latter must see to it that no harm is done to minority interests.

Federal Structure—

The Union Powers Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly in a previous session submitted its final report to the Assembly when it met after the Independence Day celebrations were over. The Committee based its recommendations to a very considerable extent on the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. It largely followed this Act both in respect of Federal-State relations and in respect of the relations between the Central and the Provincial Governments. The Government of India Act provided that in respect of the States the Federal Government would exercise jurisdiction only in regard to those powers and functions which the States would agree to surrender in their Instrument of Accession. The report of the Union Powers Committee is not before us. But from what has been published in the daily press, it seems that the Union Government under the new Constitution will exercise authority in the States only in that field which they have lately surrendered when acceding to the Dominion of India. In other words the recommendations made by the Cabinet Mission appear to hold good in this regard. The States have handed over to the Dominion Government jurisdiction in respect of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. The new Constitution is also expected to vest these powers in the Federal Government vis-a-vis the States. It would of course be specifically stated in the Constitution Act as to what implications these three functions happen to contain. In any event the Federal Government may exercise vis-a-vis the States only those powers which are explicitly and implicitly covered by Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. The residue of governmental authority will vest in the States. Sea customs will probably be interpreted as implied in foreign affairs and consequently power in this regard will vest in the Federal Government and not in the States. But what about inland customs which some of the States regard both as a source of revenue and as a source of prestige? They have, however, been a barrier to the even flow of trade and commerce in the country and are on that account an impediment to economic progress. They cannot, therefore, be allowed to stand. The States should agree to surrender that jurisdiction. Then come in the question of currency, coinage and banking. Without them federal authority will remain incomplete.

As for the Federal-Provincial relations the Union Powers Committee has closely followed the Government of India Act and provided for three lists—the first exclusively for the Federal Government, the second exclusively for the Provinces and the third for concurrent jurisdiction for the two Governments. This distribution has come in for a good deal of attack by certain members including K. Santanam, Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Mr. A. K. Das of Assam and Mr. B. Das of Orissa. They are of the view that the Provincial Governments will be more in touch with the local

people and represent better their ideas, sentiments and needs than the distant Federal Government, although the latter also would now consist exclusively of the accredited representatives of the people. Consequently the Provincial Governments should have more power and wider jurisdiction so that they might minister properly to the needs of the people. Particularly their sources of income should be greater and more independent. Most of the sources proposed for them are either very inelastic or are, due to the policy of the Congress Party, likely to shrink very largely in the future. Excise for instance which particularly during the War yielded considerable revenue may not have much utility if the policy of prohibition is adopted. Such a policy will not only cut away the income but will add to the expenditure because of the staff which will have to be maintained to enforce prohibition. None will deny that there is a good deal of force in the argument which has been put forward against any rigid limitation of power on the part of the Provinces. Particularly the smaller Provinces whose representation in the Federal Government is likely to be weak may feel perturbed.

There is, however, the other side of the picture. First powers and functions which have been handed over to the Federal Government can be properly exercised only on a central basis. The discharge by provincial authorities of the responsibilities involved therein would only lead to confusion and chaos. Secondly, powers and functions accommodated in the concurrent list are also concerned with subjects requiring central direction and control. They could be left exclusively to provincial control only to the detriment of people's interests. It should be remembered in this connection that even a federation like that of the U.S.A. which started its career with a weak central authority had gradually to tolerate and even encourage increasing jurisdiction on its part. Modern civilisation involves central control over many spheres of activity which might in former times be left either to provincial authorities or even to unfettered private initiative. Thirdly, it should be remembered that inspite of one hundred and fifty years of centralised administration under British control centrifugal forces are too powerful in this country. One evidence of this we need not go far to seek. The establishment of the Pakistan state in territories which were integral parts of this country provides it. Communal centrifugalism has been responsible for this division of India. But geographical centrifugalism is also a powerful factor to be reckoned with. If provincialism which raises its ugly head so often in this country is not checked in time, it may assume dangerous proportions in the future. So while provincial autonomy should be provided for in exclusively provincial matters, it should be kept within rigid limits.

Until the draft of the constitution is before us, it is difficult for us to know exactly as to how far frictions between provinces which are so fre-

quently noticeable today will be avoided in the new regime. It should be pointed out in this connection that it is not enough for this purpose that a province will enjoy only those powers which were assigned to it by the Government of India Act, 1935. The operation of this Act from 1937 to 1939 resulted in a greater friction between provinces than at any time before it. There should be a definite provision in the new Constitution that a person belonging to one province will have all the rights of a local man when he migrates to another province. Any provision that he will have to acquire a domicile certificate after residing in a province for ten years or for some such period before he gets the rights of a local man will hamper the growth of Indian nationality and encourage provincialism which it is otherwise the objective of the Constituent Assembly to check. It is of course true that in respect of the States the Constituent Assembly cannot at present take steps which are necessary for making the Indian people more compact, more nationally-minded and therefore more strong than they are at present. But in respect of the provinces at least such steps should unhesitatingly be taken. It is on this account that we disapprove of the criticism which has been made on the floor of the Constituent Assembly against the federal structure which has been recommended by the Union Powers Committee. We would have been glad if some members emphasised the necessity of further curbing the spirit of provincialism which influences people so much today and adopting in this connection the provision of the American Constitution that a citizen of the Union is a citizen of the unit where he may reside.

Indians in South Africa—

The publication of further correspondence between Pandit Nehru and F. M. Smuts provides the occasion for reference to the dispute between India and South Africa regarding the treatment meted to Indian settlers in that Dominion. This correspondence reveals the continuance of an unbending attitude on the part of the South African Government regarding this matter. It is unwilling to implement the resolution of the U.N.O. to which the dispute was referred to in 1946. F. M. Smuts appears even to think that the resolution was adopted by the U.N.O. under peculiar circumstances and may not represent the true opinion of the member-states. He has so far ignored it and proposes to do so in the future. That is why he has called upon the Government of India to send back the Indian High Commissioner to South Africa so that the Government of that country may talk things over with him. Pandit Nehru has naturally refused to comply with this unreasonable and even impudent request. If the Government and white people of South Africa from whom that Government derives its mandate were really so reasonable as to end the dispute by direct con-

versations with the Indian High Commissioner, the matter would not have reached the U.N.O. As this body has already taken up this question and issued a directive also to South Africa, there can be no co-operation on the part of India in ignoring this decision. Meanwhile the period which the U.N.O. had fixed for South Africa to rectify the wrong which had been done to the Indian settlers is fast coming to a close. It is naturally expected that when the Assembly next meets in September, it will manfully face the responsibility which South Africa's intransigence has made more pointed and clear. The way the U.N.O. faces this responsibility will actually be a test of the potency of this organisation as an international pathfinder.

Preventive Detention—

The full text of the new Constitution may not be published for some time. Consequently we may not yet know in which context a clause providing for preventive detention is being inserted in that document. Possibly the clauses in the chapter on fundamental rights are being modified by this new clause. But even then the question would necessarily arise whether any such clause providing specifically for preventive detention of individuals was at all called for. In the constitutions of some other countries also there are references to such matters. But there the clauses are differently drafted. It might be merely stated out that an individual would enjoy freedom from arrest or detention except according to law. But, we may repeat, until the full draft is before us, it is difficult to appreciate the significance of this clause, which by the way appears to have been taken up for consideration along with the report of the Union Powers Committee. That makes us more confused.

One thing should, however, be emphasised in this connection. There is no point in the attack made on this clause on the ground that civil liberties would be endangered by it. Such liberties, it should be known, are always to be enjoyed conditionally. The safety of the state is always more important than the liberty of the individual. That is why even in countries with long traditions of civil liberties, they have to be curtailed in times of war or similar emergencies. It is of course always a moot question whether the state or the individual should come first. It is, however, not necessary to enter into any philosophical discussion in this regard. It is enough to remember that if the state is endangered, the individual equally goes under. So it is only ordinary prudence, apart from political doctrine, that individuals should allow their liberties to be curtailed on some occasions and in some circumstances in order that organised society may not be sabotaged and enjoyment of liberty in the future may not be jeopardised. Particularly in our country where of late so many forces of disruption have been let loose, it is imperative that the Government

should have the right of detention without trial if that is necessary to maintain the integrity of the state.

Recruitment to Central Services—

A press communique has been issued regarding the new basis of recruitment to the central services, which the Government has decided on. The first question in this regard was who would be eligible for appointment under the Government of India. It has been decided that eligibility would attach to three categories of candidates—(*i*) those who are nationals of the Indian Dominion by birth or domicile, (*ii*) those who are princes or citizens of Indian states which have acceeded to the Dominion of India, (*iii*) those who are citizens of Pakistan or adjoining states to whom a certificate of eligibility may have been granted by the Government of India. The second question was whether communal representation and weightage which disfigured the public services in India would be continued or not. It is a matter of congratulation that except for the scheduled castes communal representation has been abolished in those services and posts which are filled either by a competitive examination or by competitive selection by the Public Service Commission. In respect of other offices where recruitment is made by heads of departments or other appropriate authorities, different communities will be represented on the basis of population. The principle of communal representation which the British Government had introduced was objectionable on two grounds. First, it was inconsistent with the principle of merit. On the ground of affiliation to a particular community it was possible for persons with lesser qualifications and ability to be selected for a service to the exclusion of candidates of superior merit. Secondly, the candidates chosen on the basis of particular communal affiliations naturally and inevitably developed an outlook which was not consistent with the impartial discharge of their governmental responsibilities. Now that the original sin of communal representation at least in responsible offices is being abolished, and now that such offices will now be filled only on the basis of merit, it is expected that administration will in the future be conducted with efficiency and without favour or frown towards this or that body of people.

Punishment of War Criminals and International Law—

In a previous issue of this journal we discussed the question whether there was any international law behind the trial of German and Japanese War criminals. It should be remembered in this connection that the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal was the result of an agreement among nineteen states. But in order that the law might be further strengthened in this regard, the matter was referred to the United Nations Organisation. Judge Biddle in his report to the President of the United States on the

Nuremberg Trials had taken the initiative and suggested that the agreement among the nineteen states should be approved by a formal act of all the fifty-four members of the United Nations. Accordingly the Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution instructing its Codification Committee to study the subject and report it back to the Assembly. So the detailed steps which the United Nations Organisation would take regarding the promulgation of a definite law as to the trial and punishment of war criminals must await the recommendations of the Codification Committee. But meanwhile the Assembly in the resolution referred to above adopted the principle which underlay the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal. The resolution was in this regard as follows :

" The General Assembly recognizes the obligation laid upon it by Article 13, paragraph 1, sub-paragraph *a* of the Charter, to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification ;

Takes note of the agreement for the establishment of an International Military Tribunal for the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis, signed in London on 8 August, 1945, and of the Charter annexed thereto, and of the fact that similar principles have been adopted in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the trial of the major war criminals in the Far East, proclaimed at Tokyo on 19 January, 1946 ;

Therefore,

Affirms the principles of international law recognised by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and the judgment of the Tribunal ;

Directs the Committee on the codification of international law established by the resolution of the General Assembly of....December, 1946, to treat as a matter of primary importance plans for the formulation, in the text of a general codification of offences against the peace and security of mankind, or of International Criminal Code, of the principles recognised in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in the judgment of the Tribunal."

A writer in the Political Science Quarterly observes : " Although this affirmation does not have the binding force of a treaty its political, and probably its legal, force is as great as if it were embodied in treaty form. Fifty-four states of the world are now on record as approving for the future the principles on which the major war criminals were tried."

Reviews and Notices of Books

Capitalism, Socialism or Villagism.—By Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa, M.A. (Hons.) (Madras), B.D. (Hartford, U.S.A.), Ph.D. (Edinburgh and London) with foreword by Mahatma Gandhi and index. Published by Shakti Karyalayam, Royapettah, Madras. Pp. 246. Price Rs. 5.

In this exceedingly well-written book, printed on handmade paper, Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa explains the nature of capitalism and socialism showing how and why they imply more and more centralisation as against villagism which lays all possible emphasis on decentralisation as the principal means for developing the individual. The arguments advanced in support of his thesis as put by the author are almost overwhelming.

Written primarily for the benefit of village workers and for those desirous of understanding the principles underlying the movement, a special section, highly practical in nature, has been devoted to a discussion of the ways in which it can be put into operation in a village or group of adjacent villages.

There is little doubt that, taking into consideration world conditions as we see them today, " villagism," to adopt the language of the author, is the ideal solution of India's ills.

Indo-British Big Business Deals.—By Arun Bose. Published by Peoples Publishing House, Bombay 4. Pp. 57. Price As. 14 only.

In this short but pregnant pamphlet which is convincingly documented, the author shows that the rapid industrialisation of India, so imperative a need today, is passing into the hands of Indo-British concerns which he regards as a menace to India's future security specially where key industries are concerned. That capitalism whether of the alien or the indigenous type must lead to exploitation, the creation of powerful vested interests and, in the last stage, to fascism is undeniable. The danger where India is concerned lies in the alliance between British and Indian Big Business. What is clear is that if this continues long enough, the socialisation of India would mean the overcoming of additional difficulties.

We trust that, in the next edition, the author will find himself in a position to give his readers more detailed information about the capital contributed by both sides, some idea of the profits actually, or likely to be, earned and the expenses incurred for paying the wages to and providing amenities for workers.

Caste in India : Its Nature, Function and Origins.—By J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc. William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology,

Cambridge University. Published by the Cambridge University Press. Pp. 279.

Castes as found in different areas in India are described in the first five chapters which make interesting reading for those who are not familiar with Indian conditions. In the second part, the author deals with the structure of caste, its strictures, sanctions and functions. The last of these specially afford unmistakable proof of his familiarity with and mastery over his subject. The third section in which he discusses the origins of caste in which connection he draws the attentoin of his readers to analogous institutions in other parts of the world and examines various theories of the origin of caste, shows the care and the thoroughness with which the author has studied his subject. The case of the depressed castes and the relationship between Hinduism and Primitive religions in India are treated in two appendices. The bibliography adds to the value of this work by the guidance afforded to those who would like to make a more detailed study of the subject while the index makes its consultation for purposes of reference easy.

We welcome this book as a compact and reliable treatment of this much discussed and very interesting subject.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Parrot's Training and other Stories.—By Rabindranath Tagore with illustrations by Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, 1944. Pages 50. Rupees 3. Visva-Bharati, 2, College Square, Calcutta.

The **Parrot's Training** is a first class introduction to the man Tagore, his golden humour, his jovial manners, and his perennial optimism. In this piece we encounter him almost as an oral story-teller or a conversationalist. Those Bengalis or foreigners who knew him in person will feel the presence of his laughing eyes and brilliant sallies as well as sarcastic criticisms in every line. One does not have to be a Bengali or for that matter an Indian to enjoy the mighty laugh with which Tagore says: "Its throat was so completely choked with leaves from the books that it could neither whisle nor whisper." And any romanticist in pedagogics would of course appreciate this tirade against the load of bookish lumber in schools and colleges. Tagore the lover of nature as well as the lover of freedom is by all means Rousseauseque or Pestalozzian in his *shiksha-vijnan* or science of education.

The same observations about wit and humour apply to **The trial of the Horse.** The sting of sarcasm is concentrated in the remark: "This Horse is not fit to be set free. It was for his eternal good that I built him this stable,—this marvel of architecture." It embodies the logic of the superiors as against the inferiors in regard to the latter's unfitness for freedom.

The satire in *Old Man's Ghost* is self-evident. We are told that the pedants and pundits open the text and say : "Pure are the unmindful and impure the mindful ones, so be indifferent to these latter." Remember the sacred words : " Awake are those who sleep." The venom is directed against obscurantists who dread new things and venerate the despotism of custom.

The issue in *Great News* is that between the oars and the sail as regards the prime factor in the propulsion of the boat. The parable of the class-struggle is obvious.

Intimacy with Tagore's personality can be easily won in the atmosphere of these satiric tales told in the mirthful moods of the grandfather.

BENOY SARKAR

Satyagraha : its technique and history.—By R. R. Diwakar, foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Prefatory observations by Kishorilal Meshruwala, Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price 5-12.

Satyagraha has now become associated with the glorious promise of future India, independent and co-operating with other countries of the world to a re-orientation of humanity. In fact, India of to-day owes not a little to the unique power which Satyagraha demonstrably has. But Satyagraha also has been so closely associated with Gandhiji's life, as a matter of fact, that the two have come to be integrated in our mind. It is, therefore, happy news that Shri Diwakar has written a book on the subject, explaining the philosophy and the principles, the antecendents and the discipline, the scope of Satyagraha and its future.

The book is divided into 25 chapters, beginning with the meaning of the word and ending with ' Quit India,' thus explaining the philosophical and political implications of the term and bringing it practically to current history. It covers a wide ground. It is optimistic in its outlook and the author points out that only aggressive, non-violent direct action can stop all future wars. This is the way of peace—this is a form of faith. If you want to usher in a new era—peaceful, co-operative, moral, disciplined, then this is the way we must move. But intense preparation, rigid self-discipline, a readiness to appreciate (though not accept) the opposite point of view are necessary to drive it to a successful issue.

Shri Diwakar deserves congratulations on having written a book which may be utilised as " a sort of text-book on the subject " as Dr. Rajendra Prosad rightly points out in his foreword. The prefatory observations of Shri Mashruwala will also be read with interest and profit.

A Bengalee reviewer misses any mention of Midnapore which has played a remarkable part in the Satyagraha campaign of 1930. One feels that along with Dharsana and other places, Midnapore might have come in for honourable mention in Chapter XII. There seems to be a little looseness

in the glossary here and there. We may point out, for example, (1) *Swadeshi* —a term sometimes used as a noun meaning the indigenous products of a country; (2) Sardar and knight, Dharma-yuddha and crusade not interchangeable but mere parallels; (3) Warders in Jails are not called Habilders in many places. One misses also a short note on non-violence by itself: is not that the essence of Satyagraha? Truth may be its basis, but surely non-violence is its soul.

Shri Diwakar's remarks on the comparative greatness on Gandhiji and Satyagraha are hard to appreciate. No such comparison is called for. It is not a question of hero-worship (and even if it were so, it would not have mattered), but Satyagraha would have remained a bookish theory unless it were vitalised by the bold action of Gandhiji on critical moments of rational life. The end is not yet. The nation may have to pass through the process of purification in the flame of Satyagraha.

The future will be recorded by the historians who will pay equal euology to both the action and the background—the deed and the doer—the thought and the thinker. We repeat with Dr. Rajendra Prosad the hope that "the book will be read not only by the curious but also by serious students who wish to understand and mould themselves in the Gandhian way of life."

P. R. SEN

An Introduction to the study of Theravada Buddhism in Burma: A study in Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations from the earliest times to the British conquest. By Dr. Niharranjan Ray. University of Calcutta, 1946. xvi, 306 pp. Select Bibliography. Bibliographical index. General Index. Additions and Corrections. Rs. 7-8.

In this very learned and exhaustive treatise Dr. Ray has practically traversed the whole ground of a very fascinating subject—the rise and development of Buddhism in Burma. The history and culture of Burma are intimately bound up with the growth of Buddhism and it was indeed a happy inspiration of the author to deal critically with the subject by a painstaking study of all available materials. The archaeological excavations have yielded very important data which the author has fully utilised with profit, probably for the first time, in a comprehensive historical review of the whole problem. His first two chapters on the Early Traces and Efforescence, and the last on Retrospect constiute a solid contribution to the subject so inadequately known to-day. The author has given evidence of patient industry in handling a mass of isolated data, literary and archaeological, in Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, Pyu, Mon and Burmese, and shown a high degree of critical insight in making a proper historical valuation of them. He has given a clear and intelligible acconnt

of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma and traced the various influences at work in giving it its present shape. His book is a valuable contribution both to the history of Buddhism and to the proper appreciation of the culture of Burma. Incidentally it throws interesting light on the influence of Indian culture and civilisation on our next door neighbour towards the east.

This book along with the author's previously published *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* and *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* now rounds up in a comprehensive manner the origin and progress of Indian religions and culture in the very fascinating country of Burma and successfully terminates a scheme of work that the author has been steadily pursuing for years.

An elaborate and classified bibliography followed by two exhaustive indices enhance the value of the book.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Ourselves

Peace in Calcutta

Communal disorder which broke out in Calcutta on the 16th of August, 1946, and disfigured the life of the city for one whole year was suddenly brought to an end on the 14th August last. Many of the forces which fomented communal strife and kept it alive for their own end were by then eliminated. Gandhiji's presence in the city also worked as a magic wand. So all on a sudden Calcutta life which had been so uncertain and frightful became peaceful and healthy. There were scenes of joyous friendliness between members of different communities. Not only they met together to celebrate the coming of peace but in day to day life also an atmosphere of confidence was created and people moved about freely as in former times. Business looked up and day to day administration in all institutions, private and public, was toned up. But this peace which came so suddenly on August 14 and was maintained for a fortnight was disturbed again with equal suddenness on the 1st of September last. The bolt came from the blue. The outbreak was without warning and without any justification. For three days the city was again in the grip of the goonda elements. What with the promptitude of the police and what with the fast which the Mahatma decided to undergo, these lawless elements did not get any quarters and were within a short time brought under control. But the very fact that the life of the city could be disturbed so easily and so suddenly on the initiative of a few lawless men working for their own antisocial interests gave food for thinking. It was not enough that the police organisation should work on a prompt and efficient basis. It was necessary that the interest of the city population should be properly and effectively evoked in the matter of keeping the peace and that their efforts should be given necessary organisational shape in this regard. Accordingly a Central Committee consisting of leaders of different sections of the people has been constituted. This Committee includes Professor P. N. Bannerjee, Vice-Chancellor of this University, who has already made great efforts in infusing a new spirit of amity and concord among the people of this much-suffering city, particularly among the student population. It is our hope that the Committee

will succeed in its objective and mission and contribute effectively to the maintenance of permanent peace.

* * * *

University Representatives on the Council of the Imperial Library

Professor Pramathanath Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, and Professor Meghnad Saha were appointed representatives of the University on the Council of the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

* * * *

Saratchandra Chatterjee Memorial

Mr. Umaprasad Mookerjee, Secretary and Treasurer, Saratchandra Chatterjee Memorial Committee, offered to the University a sum of Rs. 30,000 on the following conditions:—

1. Annually the University would invite a lecturer to deliver not less than three lectures in Bengali on a selected subject.
2. Triennially a prize consisting of a cash payment of Rs. 1,000 and a Medal was to be awarded to the best writer of fiction in Bengali.
3. The lecturer, the subject of his lectures and the person to whom the prize would be awarded were to be selected by the University on the recommendations of a Selection Committee.

The University accepted the offer with thanks. We have no doubt about it that the arrangements made will go a great way in perpetuating the memory of the distinguished Bengali novelist.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Copy of a letter No. Ref. RU/CON/0727/47, dated 12th June, 1947, from the Jt. Hony. Secretaries, All-India Radio Merchants' Association, Bombay to the Registrar, University of Calcutta.

SUB :—INDIAN RADIO TRADE AND INDUSTRY CONFERENCE

"It is with great pleasure that we write to inform you that under the auspices of the Association a Radio Trade and Industry Conference will be held at Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Hall, Bombay on 28th and 29th August, 1947. The object of the conference is to discuss and plan how best our resources can be harnessed and canalised for the healthy and progressive development of the manufacture and assembling of Radio Receivers and component parts thereof in India, for aiding the growth and expansion of broadcasting in the country, etc. It has also been decided to arange an Exhibition of Radio and Allied goods of both indigineous and foreign make on 29th and 30th August, 1947.

We take this opportunity to extend to you and through you to all the members of the staff and each and every student of the various Colleges and other Educational institutions in your University our most cordial invitation for the conference and exhibition.

Admission to the conference and exhibition hall will be by passes which will be freely issued to all persons who inform the Association on or before 7th July, 1947, their desire to attend the conference.

Papers on technical and various other aspects of the Radio Trade and Industry and Broadcasting in the country are solicited from qualified and experienced personnel of your University to be read at the Conference. Valuable prizes ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 100 will be offered to the first few best papers submitted to the Conference.

Our Committee desire that your University may be approached to find out what co-operation your University can give to this Association with regard to the development of the Radio Industry and for the success of the Conference and Exhibition.

We shall be obliged if you will kindly furnish us information on the following points at your earliest convenience.

(*a*) How many colleges or institutions in your University offer facilities for imparting instruction and training on wireless servicing and communication engineering and how much accommodation is provided in each of such colleges or institutions.

(*b*) Give the full address of all such colleges or institutions.

(*c*) What is the tuition fee for each course of study ?

(*d*) Name and address of qualified personnel in your University who can write papers on technical or other aspects of broadcasting and Radio Industry and who could deliver lectures on allied subjects at the Conference, if so requested ?

(*f*) Whether any research work directly connected with the Radio Industry has been carried out under the direction of your University ?

(*g*) Do you subsidise individual attempts at research ? If yes, to what extent and on what condition.

(*h*) Do you provide facilities for such researches for individuals or Associations ?

(*i*) Whether you have any experimental or finished products connected with Wireless apparatus made under the direction of your University to be displayed at exhibition.

Our Committee will feel highly obliged if an early consideration is extended to this letter.

Thanking you and assuring you of our best attention at all times."

An Extract from the letter No. 77052/SP.2(R), dated 5th June, 1947

It has been decided to grant annually a number of regular commissions in the Indian Army to graduates of recognised Universities holding the following degrees :—

For Service in	To hold degrees in
Armoured Corps Artillery Infantry Army Service Corps Ordnance Corps Educational Corps	Arts or Science
Engineers	Civil Engineering
Signal Corps Electrical and Mechanical Engineers	Electrical and Mechanical
Farms Department	Agricultural

2. The detailed academic qualifications required for Engineer applicants are as follows :—

(*a*) Candidates must hold one of the following degrees or diplomas in engineering :

(*i*)	B.E.	..	Calcutta University
	B.E.	..	Bombay ,,
	B.E.	..	Madras ,,
	B.Sc.	..	Benares ,,
	B.C.E.	..	Patna ,,
	B.Sc.	..	Rangoon ,,
	B.E.	..	Mysore ,,
	B.Sc.	..	Punjab ,,
	B.E.	..	Osmania ,,
	B.Sc.	..	Travancore ,,
(*ii*)	Diploma in Civil Engineering	..	Thompson College, Roorkee
(*iii*)	Certificate in Electrical Eng.	..	Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore
(*iv*)	'A' Class Diploma		
	1st Divn. 65% marks		Mech. Punjab College
	or,		
	Hons. Divn. 80% marks		Elec. of Eng. & Tech.

Or,

(*b*) Candidates may hold an engineering degree or diploma of a recognised foreign University, or an Indian qualification, which can be accepted as equivalent to any of the above.

3. Detailed qualifications for applicants for other Arms will follow.

4. Candidates must normally be between their 20th and 23rd birthday on the day they apply for this commission. Those with civil engineering, electrical and mechanical engineering and agricultural degrees will, however, be accepted up to their 25th birthday. Other considerations being equal preference will be given to members of the U.T.C., in possession of Certificate A, Parts I and II and Certificate B, Parts I and II.

5. Pay and allowances, pension, leave and all other terms and conditions of service will be the same as those applicable to other I.C.O's. They will be commissioned after successfully completing a shortened modified course at the I.M.A.

6. Application forms are being printed and will be despatched to you as soon as the supply is received from the press. Completed application forms should be submitted to the S.P. Dte., A.F.H.Q., Meerut, as soon as possible, and in any case not later than 15th August, 1947, after which no applications will be considered.

7. You are requested to give this matter the widest possible publicity amongst all Colleges under your control. A communique on the above lines will be appearing in the press.

INSTRUCTIONS TO UNIVERSITY GRADUATES APPLYING FOR REGULAR COMMISSIONS IN THE INDIAN ARMY

1. No candidate may apply for consideration for Regular Commission unless he fulfils the following conditions :—

(*a*) DOMICILE—A candidate must be a British subject of Indian domicile or descent ; a ruler or a subject of an Indian state.

(*b*) AGE—A candidate must be between his 20th and 23rd birthday on the day he applies. Those with Civil Engineering, Electrical and Mechanical, and Agricultural Degrees, however, will be accepted up to their 25th birthday.

(*c*) EDUCATION—Candidates must be graduates of a recognised University and must hold any one of the following degrees :—

Arts or Science Degrees,
Civil Engineering Degrees,
Electrical and Mechanical Degrees,
Agricultural Degrees.

The original degree certificate or a duplicate copy certified correct by the Registrar of the University concerned must be attached to their applications.

(*d*) MEDICAL—A candidate must be medically fit in all respects.

General Instructions

2. No candidate who has been already rejected either for a Regular or an Emergency Commission, by a Selection Board or by an Officers' Training Establishment may apply again.

3. On completion of the application form please send it to the Head of your University for completion of Section "C." If you have left the University and are not employed in any capacity or employed by a private firm, send this form after completion to the Selection of Personnel Directorate, General Headquarters, Meerut Cantt., as soon as possible and in any case by *15th August, 1947* after which no applications will be considered.

4. If you do not qualify in all respects, do NOT complete the application form or ask for special consideration to be given to your case. If you do send the application form and it is found that you do NOT qualify in all respects, the form will be destroyed and NO acknowledgement will be sent to you.

APPLICATION

FOR REGULAR COMMISSION IN HIS MAJESTY'S INDIAN LAND FORCES GRANTED TO UNIVERSITY GRADUATES ONLY

SECTION "A."

NAME IN FULL (BLOCK CAPITALS) in the order in which you wish your name to be shown for official purposes.

.....

Permanent address.....

.....

.....

Present address (to which calling up notices etc. are to be sent).....

.....

.....

.....

I hereby apply for a Commission in :—

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

(State which branch of the Army preferred, and give three choices).

.....

Date..... (*Signature of the applicant*)

SECTION "B."

1. Date of birth (attach documentary evidence to this effect).....

.....

2. Religion.....
3. Caste, Sub-caste, or Tribe.....
4. Province or State.....
5. Married/Single.....
6. If married, the number of children and their ages should be given.....

.....

.....

7. Name, address and occupation of next-of-kin showing relationship. (*N.B.* If married an applicant's next-of-kin is his wife).

.....

.....

8. (*a*) Are you a British Subject?.....
   (*b*) If you are the subject of an Indian State give its name.....
9. If you are a vegetarian, have you any objection to messing with non-vegetarians, or eating food prepared in a non-vegetarian cook-house?

.....

10. (*a*) Name of father.....
    (*b*) What is or was his permanent address?

.....

.....

    (*c*) His country of birth.....
    (*d*) Nationality.....
    (*e*) What is or was your father's occupation?

.....

11. (*a*) Mother's country of birth.....
    (*b*) Nationality.....

12. Has your father or any near relatives served in His Majesty's Navy, Army or Air Force? If so give brief particulars;

13. Education—(*a*) State briefly College, or University attended, with dates and particulars of Degrees, Diplomas, Technical qualifications etc. (Documentary evidence must be attached).

(*b*) State any language qualifications (Oriental and European) and give degrees of proficiency in each.

14. Give full particulars of all employment you have carried out. This should include service in a Government Department (Indian or Colonial) with rank held and relative dates.

N.B.—Applicant must state to whom he was directly responsible, and for what personnel if any.

Name of employer	Date of joining	Date of leaving	Nature of employment	Salary per month
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

15. Have you served in the Navy, Army or Air Force including U.T.C., I.T.F., or A.F.(I) Unit? If so state formation, unit, etc.

(*a*) For what period? (give dates).....

(*b*) Ranks held.....

(*c*) State whether you are in possession of U.T.C. Certificate A, Parts I & II and Certificate B, Parts I & II, if so attach documentary evidence.

16. Have you at any time been held prisoner in enemy hands or been in territory which was at that time occupied by the enemy? If so, state briefly the circumstances, giving all relevurant dates. (To be completed by all candidates.)

17. Previous candidates.

(Complete certificate "A" or "B" whichever is applicable)

"A"

This is to certify that I have previously been rejected for a Regular/Emergency/Temporary Commission by a Selection Board/Officers' Training School.

Particulars are as under:

By the Provincial Selection Board, Preliminary Interview Committee or Services Selection Board.

at.....on (date).....

at.....on (date).....

By the Officers' Training Establishment (Naval, Army or Air Force).

at.....on (date).....

at.....on (date).....

(*Signature of applicant*)

"B"

This is to certify that I have NOT been previously rejected for a Regular/Emergency/Temporary Commission in any Service either by a Selection Board or by an Officers' Training Establishment.*

(*Signature of applicant*)

*It is emphasised that, should a false declaration be made here (which can be verified from the Records maintained at G.H.Q.), the candidate will be debarred permanently from applying for a Commission and can be called upon to refund all travelling and daily allowances paid to him plus the cost of accommodation and messing of the Selection Board.

18. I hereby declare that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the above information is correct.

And if I am granted such commission, I further declare I will serve His Majesty the King Emperor, his heirs and successors, and that I am prepared to serve in any Arm or Department of the Service to which I may be appointed, or subsequently transferred, and in any part of the world.

Witness..... .....

Date..... (*Signature of applicant*)

Place.....

SECTION "C."

Recommended by Head of Department

Head of College or University

1. How long have you known the applicant?

2. Briefly describe the candidate's character and suitability for commission.

Date..... Signature.....

Place..... Designation.....

(NOTE—On completion of Section "C" the application will be forwarded to the Selection of Personnel Directorate, G.H.Q., Merrut Cantt., as soon as possible and in any case by 15th August, 1947 latest.)

CERTIFICATE TO BE COMPLETED IN RESPECT OF INDIAN STATE SUBJECT BY A PERSON NOT BELOW THE STATUS OF A MINISTER

This is to certify that the applicant (name).....
son of.....of (State).....
is permitted to apply for a Regular Commission in His Majesty's Indian Land Forces

Date..... Signature.....
Place..... Designation.....

SECTION " D "

Services Selection Board's Recommendations

*Recommended for a commission in.....
and is graded.....
*NOT recommended for a commission.

Place..... Signed.....
Date..... President No.....S.S.B.

* Delete whichever is inapplicable.

SECTION " E "

MEDICAL BOARDS REPORT

1. This examination must be carried out strictly in accordance with the standards laid down in Appendix 1 to Regulation Respecting Admission to the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, 1937.

2. The Medical Board has to-day examined..... and consider him to be : FIT/UNFIT/TEMPORARILY UNFIT (under para 30(*b*)(*i*), 30(*b*)(*ii*) of the Regulations respecting Admission to the I.M.A. 1937) for service in any part of the world.

Note—Only those candidates who are found medical category " A " will be graded as FIT.

3. VISION	LEFT EYE		RIGHT EYE	
	Without Glasses	With Glasses	Without Glasses	With Glasses
(*a*) Near Reads : ..				
(*b*) Distant Reads : ..				
(*c*) Colour : ..				

4. Physical measurements

Height.....Ft.....ins.
Weight.....lb.
Chest (normal).....ins.
Chest (expanded).....ins.
Range of expansion.....ins.

5. Urine examination

6. (*a*) Minor disabilities noted but considered insufficient to cause rejection.....
(*b*) Disabilities found to be present which are such that acceptanceas " FIT" is not possible.

.....President
.....Member
.....Member

Station.....
Date.....

No. 77087/S.P.2(D)
ARMED FORCES HEADQUARTERS,
Adjutant General's Branch,
Selection of Personnel Dte.,
Meerut Cantt., 28th June, 1947.

To

The Registrar,
Agra University, Agra.
Allahabad University, Allahabad.
Annamalai University, Chidambaram.
Aligarh University, Aligarh.
Andhra University, Waltair.
Bombay University, Bombay.
Benares Hindu University, Benares.
Calcutta University, Calcutta.
Delhi University, Delhi.
Dacca University, Dacca.
Lucknow University, Lucknow.
Madras University, Madras.
Mahakoshal University, Jubbulpore.
Mysore University, Mysore.

Nagpur University, Nagpur.
Utkal University, Cuttack.
Osmania University, Hyderabad (Dn.).
Patna University, Patna.
Punjab University, Lahore.
Travancore University, Travancore State.

REGULAR COMMISSIONS FOR UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

Sir,

Reference para. 3 of this Headquarters letter No. 15052/S.P.2(R), dated the 5th June, 1947.

1. The academic qualifications required of applicats for technical arms (*e.g.* Royal Engineers, Indian Signal Corps, Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, and Military Farms Department) are given below :—

A. Royal Indian Engineers—

(*a*) Candidates must hold one of the following degrees or diplomas in engineering :

(*i*) B.E.—Calcutta University.
B.E.—Bombay University.
B.E.—Madras University.
B.Sc.—Benares University.
B.C.E.—Patna University.
B.Sc.—Rangoon University.
B.E.—Mysore University.
B.Sc.—Panjab University.
B.E.—Osmania University.
B.Sc.—Travancore University.

(*ii*) Diploma in Civil Engineering—Thompson College, Roorkee.

(*iii*) Certificate in Electrical Engineering—Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

(*iv*) " A " Class Diploma 1st Div. 65% Marks. Mech. Punjab College
Or,
Hons. Divn. 80% Marks Elec. of Eng. & Tech.
Or,

(*b*) Candidates may hold an engineering degree or diploma of a recognised foreign University, or an Indian qualification, which can be accepted as equivalent to any of the above.

B. Indian Signal Corps—

(*a*) Candidates must have passed Sections " A " and " B " of :—

(*i*) the Associate Membership Examination of the Institute of Engineers (India).
Or,

(*ii*) the A.M.I.E.E. Examination with Line Communication or Radio Communication in Section " B."
Or,

(*b*) Candidates must have passed Grad.Brit. I.R.E. Examination or equivalent recognised by the Institute for purposes of exemption therefrom.
Or,

(*c*) Candidates must hold a certificate in Electrical Engineering (Telecomn) from the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.
Or,

(*d*) Candidates must hold an Electrical Engineering Degree of any recognised Indian or Foreign University.

C. Indian Electrical & Mechanical Engineers—

(*a*) Candidates must have passed Sections " A " & " B " of the Associate Membership Examination of the Institute of Engineers (India).
Or,

(*b*) Candidates must be in possession of an Engineering Degree of a recognised British or Indian University College, or Institute which will exempt them from sections " A " and " B " of the Associate Membership Examination of the Institute of Engineers (India).

D. Military Farms Department—

Candidates must be in possession of an Agricultural or Dairy Farming Degree or Deiploma, *e.g.*, B.Sc. (Agr.) or I.D.D.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Sd/- Illegible
For Adjutant General in India.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1947

OPIUM POLICY UNDER DYARCHY

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE

Vice-President, Const. Assembly of India

Financial Situation in India under Dyarchy 1920-1936

UNDER the Montford Reforms of 1919, some measure of political power passed into the hands of Indians in the Provincial sphere in nine major provinces. So far as the Central Government was concerned, it, in the language of the *Montagu-Chelmsford Report* (paragraph 190), remained " wholly responsible to Parliament." Except for its accountability to Parliament, it continued to enjoy supreme authority in all essential matters. At least in constitutional theory, the irremoveable central executive, the India Government, was " a subordinate official government under His Majesty's Government."

In practically every province, the finance portfolio was placed in charge of a British official. Many Indian Ministers responsible for what have been called " transferred " subjects complained that funds for putting through many promising nation-building schemes were not made available thus laying them open to the charge of inefficiency. It is, however, possible that some at least of the proposals were not such as to commend themselves to men who had great experience in practical administrative work and that, as such, they felt it to be their duty to discourage them.

While some uncharitable critics have insinuated that this refusal of funds was part of a deliberate policy to discredit Indian ability

before the world, another and, probably, a more satisfactory, explanation is to be found in the unpromising conditions under which dyarchy was introduced.

In this connection we should remember that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms led to important alterations in the financial relations between the Centre and the Provinces, certain heads of revenue being made wholly Provincial and others Imperial. It was rightly anticipated that one result of this would be a large deficit in the Central budget. This was met by Provincial contributions which were gradually diminished and finally abolished in 1928-29.

Under these circumstances, the British Finance Ministers had always to keep funds in hand for the Central Government administered by their countrymen and colleagues and in the success of which they felt a vital interest. We must not also forget that much reconstruction work remained to be done after the end of the First World War, that salaries had to be increased in at least some departments which had been notorious for their parsimony in the past and that provision had to be made for these purposes.

Dyarchy was in operation from 1920 to 1936, and it did not have an easy time for there had been deficits from 1918-19 onwards. Unmistakable indications of a slump, the causes of which need not be mentioned here, became apparent about the latter half of 1920-21, in other words, a little after dyarchy had come into operation. This deepened into what an English economist has characterised as " unrelieved depression " in 1921-22, which showed little signs of recovery next year. Indian exports which had greatly diminished during this period began to increase in 1924-25, and continued till the next year. But 1926-27 which witnessed " a fall in quantity as well as value in the exports of raw cotton, and fall in the value of the exports of raw and manufactured jute," as also " a fall in the shipments of rice, wheat, barley, and oilseeds " can, by no means be regarded as a good year for India. Our economic difficulties were complicated at that time, by the various devices adopted by Western countries to encourage the process of restoration. What little progress toworlds recovery India was able to make in the course of this and the next year, was more than nullified by what is known as the " Great Depression " called so because of its great intensity and extraordinary persistence. Besides leading to a heavy contraction of world trade, it had disastrous repercussions on predominantly agricultural countries like India because the fall of prices was heavier

in the case of primary products than in that of manufactured goods. Its economic effects were felt by India till definite indications of improvement in world trade and production menifested themselves in 1937.

In view of the generally unsatisfactory financial conditio ns in India, the British officials were reluctant to be liberal with funds for they were only too well aware that if there was anything like a serious dislocation in the machinery of administration, they would be the first to be blamed and rightly so because of the large powers reserved to them under dyarchy.

Difficulties of Popular Ministers Under Dyarchy

Under the Devolution Rules, control of cultivation with manufacture and sale of opium for export was a central subject while the distribution of the opium obtained from the Central Government became a Provincial matter under the charge of Indian Ministers who took office from 1920. The real position in regard to excise, including opium, was that they had general control over the sale of licenses and over the drink and drug shops.

It need hardly be added that anything like a radical departure such as the adoption of measures calculated to diminish the revenues at a time when the administration was faced with a financial crisis as during 1920-23, or after it, when it was making more or less successful efforts to tide over its difficulties as during 1925-28, and, later on, when both Provincial and Central Governments were planning to build up the nation-building departments at a time when they were facing a deepening crisis, would have been strenuously opposed by the British officials in the Provincial Governments.

In addition, the all-powerful Central Government could hardly be expected to view with equanimity proposals which would have the effect of reducing the amounts of opium supplied to the Provinces. It could argue that a reduction in the revenue consequent on their adoption, would compel the Provinces to reduce their contribution to the Centre, a contention true of the period 1920-29, and probably also to call for financial help from it at a time when revenue from the export trade in opium was in the process of practically vanishing.

The Indian Ministers were aware that they were on trial; much was expected of them by their countrymen. They had also to use their somewhat limited powers in such a manner as to ensure the

success of the Reforms. One of their principal preoccupations was to develop education and social services for which money had to be found. The sources of Provincial Governments were limited, the only one capable of expansion being the revenue from excise including the revenue from the distribution of opium. Naturally enough, they felt great hesitation in suggesting the adoption of any measure calculated to reduce revenue specially when it would be opposed by their British colleagues on the one hand and, most probably, by the Central Government on the other.

The facts stated above show that while theoretically, the Indian Ministers in the Provinces were free to implement a policy of restriction or even of prohibition of the internal consumption of opium, there were certain grave difficulties which stood in the way of their adoption of a bold policy in the matter. It was therefore not quite correct to suggest, as was actually done by the Director of Public Information, Government of India, on page 224 of *India in 1923-24*, for presentation to Parliament that :

" Since the introduction of the reformed system of Government, the consumption of opium in India has been controlled by Indian Ministers in every Province save Assam....Indians themselves are now fully empowered, if they so desire, to restrict the use of opium in their own country."

All the above factors had the effect of making the Indian Ministers extremely cautious in the matter of introducing changes in the existing revenue system. They also explain the halting steps taken during dyarchy towards curtailment of the internal consumption of opium and to some of which reference is made below.

The Congress had boycotted the first legislatures of 1920-23. The second legislatures of 1923-26, saw the entrance of the Swaraj Party which pursued a policy of unalloyed obstruction. Subsequently, all energies of the Opposition were concentrated on taking various steps for enlarging the political powers of Indians. These facts and others to which no reference can be made here explain the apparent indifference of Indian Nationalism towards the problem with which we are concerned here. But even then, pressure on the administration, specially in the Provinces, in regard to reduction in internal consumption was applied from time to time, but to no effect. This was referred to by an English observer who visited India and the Far East in 1927-28, and who, after familiarising himself with the opium situation in India, said in 1930 :

" When Provincial Councils have voted for a reduction of opium or drink licenses, such proposals have been vetoed because of their anticipated effect on finance."

Contradictory Policy Under Dyarchy 1920-1935

The generally difficult financial situation all through the period when dyarchy was in operation, the obstacles, direct and indirect, standing in the way of sacrificing excise revenue including what came from opium internally consumed, the need of funds for carrying out plans for bettering the condition of the people and, lastly, a strong inclination on the part of the Indian Ministers to be associated as little as possible with the traffic in drink and drugs explain the wavering policy followed in most of the Provinces, reference to some of which is made below.

For instance, in the *Excise Report* of the United Provinces for 1926-27, it is stated in one place that—

" the downward tendency in the sale of *charas* has now been arrested."

Elsewhere, in the same report, it is said that—

" A proposal for the experimental cultivation of the hemp plant for the production of *ganja* in this province is at present under the consideration of the Government."

The only inference a detached student of the Indian drug problem can draw from these two statements taken together is that they betray an unconcealed desire for a larger revenue even if it has to be secured by increased sales. But when in still another part of the same report we find the declaration, apparently made in all seriousness, that—

" The Benares division, seems to be the most depraved in respect of the use of intoxicants, although it is the very centre of the sacred soil of the Hindus."

We do not know which to admire most, the high moral tone assumed by the official responsible for the report or his stupidity inferable from his utter unawareness of the ridiculous position in which he had placed himself by the above statement.

That this is only one instance out of many in which Government claimed to adopt measures for the avowed purpose of reducing consumption while its agents were not above taking steps to secure

increased revenue even when this implied larger sales, is clear from an incident reported to the National Y. M. C. A., in 1930, by one of its western workers. It appears that this gentleman attended a public auction in the Central Province in which opium licenses were being disposed of. According to him he observed :

" how a Government official went from one to another of the likely purchasers, urging them to increase their bids, and pointing out villages and districts that had not yet been ' worked,' where sales might be greatly increased."

Still another instance of the paradox of satisfaction over an expanding revenue with descriptions of propaganda levelled against the immoderate consumption of stimulants and narcotics will be found in the *Excise Report* for Bihar and Orissa for the year 1935-36. Here we are told that in Orissa, notorious for its excessive use of opium, the excise revenue increased to the extent of 23 lakhs within the four years 1931-35, and that the consumption in certain areas in it went up in 1936 by reason of " competition among vendors " who presumably, vigorously pushed the sale of alcoholic beverages and habit-forming drugs. At the same time, the Department concerned took credit because :

" Excise officers continued to explain the evil effects of purchasing opium for children."

Opium Consumption and Opium Policy 1920-1922

Even before the Indian Ministers had taken office, the general rise in prices which had shown itself with the commencement of the First World War had been continuous so much so that its effects were referred to in a Memorandum submitted by the India Government late in 1919 to the Babington Smith Currency Committee in which it was observed,

" There is no longer any room for doubt that the resultant increase in the expense of living due to the high prices of food-grains also of other accessories such as cloth and kerosine oil, and the hardship which the increase has entailed on the poorer classes and those with fixed incomes, has been a very important factor in promoting unrest and discontent."

A glance at the Calcutta series of index numbers (July 1914 = 100) will show a rise of general prices to 202 in 1920 and a slow but steady fall thereafter to 141 in 1929, from which it follows that peak levels were reached in 1920.

The " unrest and discontent " clearly discerned in 1919, lent vigour to the political incentives behind the Non-Co-operation Movement—resentment at the severity of the repressive methods resorted to for putting down what has been euphemistically called the Punjab " disorders " and the failure of the British Government to redress the Khilafat grievance. It was at a later stage that the demand of Swaraj was added to the above list. One aspect of this movement was propaganda against the drink and drug habits of the people as a means of self-purification considered essential in all who participated in it.

Gandhiji toured through different parts of India to organise the movement with only one phase of which, the campaign for temperance, we are concerned here. Some idea of the measure of success achieved may be formed by a consideration of the improvements which appeared in one particular area, Assam, long notorious for its excessive consumption of drink and drugs.

Hundreds of enthusiastic young men picketed drink and drug shops imploring people to refrain from patronising them. The Assam Government punished most of the more prominent leaders and workers on the ground that they were preaching disaffection and, in the language of a highly-placed British official, " trying to undermine revenue."

An objective student of public affairs, however strong his nationalism, has to admit, even if with some amount of reluctance, that, in whatever light Gandhiji may have looked on this particular phase of the Non-Co-operation Movement, the aim of many of those taking an active part in it was mainly political. The effects of the good work, whatever its motive, are clearly seen in the following statistics taken from the Excise Reports of Assam for the years 1919-24, in which connection it has to be remembered that the vigorous phase of the anti-drink and anti-dope movement started late in 1921 after Mahatma Gandhi's visit to that province.

Year		Total Consumption of Opium in Maunds
1919-20	..	1,748
1920-21	..	1,614
1921-22	..	1,013
1922-23	..	965
1923-24	..	884

Finding itself unable to offer any satisfactory explanation of the

large drop in consumption between 1920-1922, and unwilling to admit that it was the direct result of the anti-opium preaching of Congressmen with whom it had no patience, the Assam Government ascribed it to large supplies available from contraband sources. When it was pointed out that seizures of contraband opium by the preventive staff had gone down from a total of 82 maunds in 1919-20 to 24 maunds in 1921-22, it made the ludicrous mistake of stating that the narcotic had come from illicit poppy cultivation :

" Started at the instigation of the Non-Co-operators, who gave out that under the new regime there would be no restriction on such cultivation."

Whatever else may be said against these men, no Indian at least would give any credence to such a charge knowing as he must that the movement itself would have been discredited if it had become known that such statements had been made by them.

From one point of view, the attitude of the Assam Government was regrettable for the report submitted to it in 1921, by the official Opium Enquiry Committee, generally known as the Botham Committee, had compelled it to recognise the gravity of the situation and to take steps to combat it though, for its own purpose, it did not make it available to the public for quite some time.

Finally, it should be stated here that the most remarkable outcome of this anti-opium drive was that the figures for consumption in Assam have not gone up since that time.

It is admitted that Assam was, from the point of view of the present discussion, the most successful of the areas where the anti-opium campaign was conducted. The figures given below prove that it led to satisfactory results on an All-India scale also :

Year	Number of Chests
1920-21 ..	6,761
1921-22 ..	6,182

A comparison of the number of excise opium chests issued for consumption in 1919-20, with the number issued in the first of the two Non-Co-operation years will show a reduction of nearly 2,000 chests. It can hardly be maintained that this starting diminution in the consumption of a habit-forming drug was largely due to economic causes for, as pointed out elsewhere, invariably the first charge on an addict's finances is that for securing the narcotic to

which he is a slave. It has therefore been maintained that the above reduction was the direct result of the call to the higher nature of the addicts made by those emphasising this particular aspect of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

The anti-drink and anti-drug phase of the Non-Co-operation Movement may be said to be the first expression of large scale organised Indian opinion against the opium policy of the administration which, however, was able to considerably minimise its importance as a genuine indication of public feeling by drawing attention to its revenue reducing possibilities and then emphasising that its adoption had embarrassing Government as its object. It may be that this was an honestly held conviction with most British officials.

Instead of admitting that part at least of the credit for the reduced internal consumption had been due to the Non-Co-operation Movement the impetus of the anti-drug drive of which had not yet spent itself, the Director of Public Information, Government of India, in the annual report presented to Parliament entitled *India in 1924-25* (p. 272) said,

" Enhanced prices and restricted supply, together with a welcome, though slow, trend of public opinion, are resulting in a decreasing use of opium for ceremonial hospitality or for personal indulgence, and are thus tending to restrict the consumption of the drug to purposes either medicinal or quasi-medicinal."

The reduction in the internal consumption brought once more to the fore the question of the possibility of limiting the production of opium to the quantity required for medical and scientific purposes and the British administration felt it necessary to make its position clear to their principals. It may be that this was done because it was assumed that the internal consumption would tend to return to normal quantities when the Non-Co-operation Movement was properly controlled to which end vigorous measures had already been taken and in case they proved unsatisfactory, others still more drastic were under consideration.

The India Government, therefore, explained, its opium policy in a despatch dated the 21st March, 1921, addressed to the Secretary of State for India. Here, after referring approvingly to the views expressed by Lord Hardinge as regards the internal consumption of opium, Lord Reading observed that as in India opium eating was " largely prevalent for the prevention, cure and alleviation of disease, as a prophylactic and as an anodyne, as a solace, a tonic and a res-

torative to avert and lessen fatigue and as when moderately used it is "relatively innocuous,...."

"....any attempt to eradicate by law the use of opium would be open to all the objections involved in bureaucratic interference with popular custom."

The India Office Pamphlet of 1922

In deference to international opinion, the British administration in India had stopped exports of Indian opium to China and limited them to non-Chinese territories in the Far East in accordance with an agreement with the former. The move made at the League of Nations towards the end of June, 1921 to limit the production of opium to the medicinal and scientific needs of the world and the subsequent appointment of a board of enquiry for ascertaining all-world needs of the drug for the above purposes only, matters dealt with in some detail below, had compelled it to envisage the prospect of the tabling of other resolutions on similar lines from such members of this international organisation as condemned the use of the drug for euphoric purposes. It was aware that on the event of a wider mobilisation of international opinion in support of such suggestions, it would have no option but to give effect to them if only to keep up its prestige as a civilised government ruling India for the benefit of her people. This would mean a reduction in revenue which it could hardly contemplate with composure in view of the reductions in it previously caused by the practical disappearance of the export trade in opium.

Our British rulers had always contended that the Indian people had never demanded either prohibition or even any restriction in the amount available for non-medical use. Not only that, they had gone further and had assured the world more than once that any measure adopted for securing these ends would be resented by them. The Royal Commission on Opium had stated that they might even lead to political discontent in the Indian States and cause disloyalty among certain so-called martial races which had been contributing large numbers of recruits to the army. The success of the anti-drug campaign conducted on an All-India scale during the Non-Co-operation Movement had clearly demonstrated that granting

that the above had been their feelings when the Royal Commission on Opium had conducted its investigations, there had been a radical change in their views later on. The reduction in the consumption of stimulants and narcotics which had persisted even after the suppression of Non-Co-operation had left the impression that large numbers of Indians condemned the use of the narcotic for intoxication purposes.

It has therefore been held, perhaps not quite unreasonably, that the British administration felt that it must do something to explain to the world at large its attitude in regard to the question of the internal consumption of opium. It was aware that it could take credit for the change in its opium export policy as proved by the stoppage of the China trade and the limitation of opium exports to non-China countries in the Far East. What remained for it was to convince international public opinion that its opium policy in regard to internal consumption was justified by conditions peculiar to India. This took the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Truth About Indian Opium* published by the India Office in 1922. It was circulated so extensively, that a second edition had to be issued in 1923.

Published nearly a quarter of a century after the *Report of the Royal Commission*, on Opium, this pamphlet stated (p. 28) that Indian opium was not ordinarily used for the manufacture of morphine thus clearing the India Government from any suspicion that this derivative of opium smuggled into countries, eastern and western, which prohibited its entry, had been manufactured in India. It also referred to the new opium export policy pointing out, in the second edition, the adoption of the import certificate system.

After saving its face in this way, this official publication in dealing with the question of the consumption of opium inside India stated,

"We take our stands unhesitatingly on the conclusion of the Royal Commission which reported in 1895, *viz.*, that the opium habit as a vice scarcely exists in India, that opium is extensively used for non-medical and semi-medical purposes, in some cases with benefit, and for the most part without serious consequences; that it would not be practicable to draw a distinction between them in the distribution and sale of the drug; and that it is not necessary that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes."

Much had been expected from the India office pamphlet justifying the supplying of opium to Indians. That it failed to carry con-

viction among people not financially interested in the opium traffic became clear when the First Opium Conference met at Geneva in 1924, where one of those present felt compelled to state that—

"Great Britain in passing her Dangerous Drugs Act expressed England's agreement with the policy of suppressing drugs in the British Empire, but did not extend the strictures of that Act to her dominions in India."

(To be continued)

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

K. K. MOOKERJEE

Lecturer in Education, Calcutta University

SECONDARY EDUCATION which implies the *pre-university* or *pre-professional* or *pre-occupational* education, as they call it in the west, for boys and girls is a matter of great importance in Bengal, as it is everywhere throughout the world. And the 'high school,' as an institution for the education of boys and girls in their teens—the most plastic period in their lives and forming the groundwork for college education, is regarded as more important than college. "The special pride of England," says a great writer, "is her Public Schools rather than her universities." The names of English Public Schools are world-famous. If names great in the field of education are thought of in England, it is the names of great school masters that are thought of first—Colet, Mulcaster, Arnold, Ridding, Almond and others. We need in India to think more worthily of schools and school masters and make the schools themselves a real training ground for life; for, we are told, on the playing fields of Eton, a famous Public School in England, the battle of Waterloo was fought and won.

Now, whenever we speak of school education in India or particularly in Bengal, we generally begin with the starting of Hindu College in 1817 or with the famous Minutes of Lord Macaulay in 1835, forgetting for the moment that we had an indigenous system of secondary education—school and college system—in India (even the line of demarcation was not clearly drawn in the British period till the Act of 1904), which is as old as the history of India.

When the English came to India with their torch of European learning, the country was enveloped in darkness of ignorance and superstition. But when we lift this pall of night, we find in the glimmering antiquities those bright spots when the Vedic hymns were chanted, when the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were composed by Valmiki and Vyasa, when Kalidasa wrote his enthralling dramas, when Gautama Buddha taught his *Nirvana* and Asoka had his edicts carved on stones. Nor was education neglected when Akbar gathered together in his court divines from all religions and denominatio

and formed schemes with Abul Fazl for the education of his subjects —Hindu or Moslem.

There is hardly however any connected record of what the Hindu and the Buddhist kings did for education before the 3rd century B.C., though in *Lalita Vistara* we find that schools for elementary education or *Pathsalas* did exist at the time of Buddha (6th century B.C.), who was educated at one of those schools. The curriculum of such *pathsalas* consisted in imparting instruction in the three R's in vernacular, together with moral precepts as embodied in compilations and enforced by the Puranic legends. *Vyakarana* (Grammar), *Abhidhana* (Word-book or Dictionary), and *Kavya* (Poetry) in Sanskrit were also taught to the most advanced students of the superior castes (this portion of work was done by the *tols*—a midway between secondary school and college).

The *pathsala* or the *tol* teacher was an officer of the village community. Either rent-free lands were assigned to him or he was given some grains out of the village harvest. "The outstanding characteristics of the schools of the Hindu village community were that they were democratic and more secular than spiritual in their instruction and general character." But, education was confined to the upper classes, as we find in the middle of the 8th century Gopala, king of Bengal, founding schools attached to the monastery of *Odantapuri* or *Uddandapura*, and king Dharmapala, at the end of the 8th century founding schools and colleges at *Vikramasila* and giving aids to Pandits and Buddhist monks. But nowhere do we find state help being given for the education of the masses.

Coming to the Muhammadan period, we find Muhammad Ghori in 1192 destroying the pillars and foundations of temples and building in their places mosques with which were attached *maktabs* (primary schools) and *madrasahs* (secondary schools and colleges). At a later period we find Firuz Tughlak spending large sums of money on learning and the repairing of schools till we come to Akbar, who with the assistance of ministers like Abul Fazl, framing schemes for instruction and regulations for the guidance of schools. But his great grandson Aurangzeb, who reigned till 1707, would have nothing to do with the Hindu system of culture and learning, and who abolished a large number of schools attached to temples and established in their places *maktabs* and *madrasahs*. He gave special monetary help to poor Moslem students and made every mosquea *madrasah* in miniature. Arabic scholars and *Moulvis* taught the theology, the

law and the literature of Islam, and instruction in such schools became mainly religious.

With the death of Aurangzeb the Mughal empire practically collapsed, and there was a great scramble between different factions and communities for supremacy in India. While such circumstances prevailed in the country, religious schools were mostly closed down for want of state patronage, and some sort of secular village schools for both the Muhammadans and the Hindus continued to exist. Learning was in a decadent state and profound and universal ignorance was the natural consequence when the English after the battle of Plassey in 1757 settled down in Bengal, and found the two parallel types of institutions, *viz.*, the *pathsalas* and *tols* for the Hindus and *maktabs* and *madrasahs* for the Moslems.

The English at first did not interest themselves in the education of the people of Bengal. They were engaged in the work of consolidation of their power newly acquired. Further, at that time, education in England was in the hands of the church, and there was no state organization of education. So no one in the employ of the East India Company thought of introducing any state organization of education in India, as everybody believed then that education could be spread without state interference. Thus, the East India Company practically took no regular initiative in the matter except that they founded the Calcutta Madrasah in 1782, the Benares Hindu College in 1792 and the Calcutta Free School Society in 1789. The indigenous schools, however, were maintained, as before, by the voluntary contributions of rich Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen and by the produce of charity lands.

It was left to Raja Rammohun Roy and David Hare on the one hand and the Christian Missionaries on the other to start the Hindu College in 1817 and Serampore College in 1818, with a net-work of schools and thus to pave the way for western system of education in Bengal. The advent of this system of western education side by side with indigenous *tols* and *madrasahs* brought about the great controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, and the Government of Lord William Bentinck, headed by Lord Macaulay, the then Law Member, supported by Raja Rammohun Roy, David Hare and others, passed a resolution in 1835 directing " that all available state resources should henceforth be employed to impart to the native population a knowledge f oEnglish literature and science through the medium of English language."

This famous resolution of March, 1835, paved the path for the establishment of the present system of high school education in Bengal, and several schools on western models came into existence in Calcutta through private efforts and initiative, and the Government took practically no interest in the matter excepting their patronage. Provision was also made in schools attached to colleges, for a lower standard of instruction, and these were known as collegiate schools. The curricula in these schools were completely literary, and no vocational subject was introduced.

The first system of state organization of secondary education came with the famous Education Despatch of 1854, and " the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education from the primary school to the university was taken up by the Government, and the system of grants-in-aid was adopted in order to ensure local support and to encouarge private enterprise." This policy resulted in the rapid establishment of secondary schools in Bengal, and zilla schools came to be established by the Government in almost all district headquarters.

The method of organization and management of secondary schools of the present day dates from this memorable Despatch of 1854, and requires a detailed treatment.

The Despatch of 1854 is the first code on which Indian education rests. It recommended the establishment of a separate state department for the administration of education with the Director of Public Instruction with a hierarchy of officers, the institution of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the establishment of teachers' training institutions, the maintenance of existing Government schools and colleges and increasing their number whenever required, the establishment of middle schools, introduction of grants-in-aid, institution of scholarships and encouragement of female education.

The result of this memorable Despatch is remarkable in as much as the number of high schools and middle schools in Bengal swelled to the present figure of about two thousand and three thousand respectively.

Now, the high schools of Bengal are of a mixed type, there being primary classes in them. Most schools have an eight-year course of eight classes, and in this their courses overlap with the four upper classes of the M. E. schools and the two top classes of the U. P. schools. The high schools teach up to the Matriculation standard, preparatory to college education.

According to the nature of management, the high schools in Bengal may be divided into Government schools, aided schools and private or unaided schools. Most of the high schools are under private management, there being about fifty Government schools for boys and girls. Grants-in-aid to high schools are disbursed by the Divisional Inspectors on the basis of a minimum scale of expenditure.

The existing system of control of the high schools is divided between the Government acting through the officers of the Department of Education and the University mainly functioning through the School Committee. In schools which receive no aid from the Government, the Inspectors merely see to the fulfilment of the conditions of recognition. The University also exercises control over high school education in Bengal by its power of recognition or affiliation which also lays down certain conditions in regard to minimum qualifications of teachers, scale of pay, reserve fund, etc. It also exercises control in the matter of selection of text-books for the two top classes preparatory to Matriculation Examination; while the Education Department of the Government approves text-books for the remaining classes of the high school. Thus a dual control over high schools is exercised by the University on the one hand and the Government Department of Education on the other. As regards middle schools, the Government has full and unitary control.

Phenomenal changes have recently been brought about in the curricula both of primary and secondary schools. In high schools, the mother tongue has been taken to be the medium of instruction and examination, with the introduction of the New Matriculation Regulations of the University since 1940. History and Geography have been made compulsory subjects, and a course of elementary scientific knowledge will soon be included in the list of compulsory subjects. Differentiated courses of studies for boys and girls for the Matriculation classes have been prescribed, the courses for girls being adopted to their needs.

But still the work in the secondary schools is dominated entirely by the thoughts of the Matriculation examination, and there is practically no attempt in the schools for providing real training and sound education for the boys and girls.

So far we have dealt with the past and present condition of secondary education which has emerged from individual initiative to state organization and control. We shall see further how far this state financial patronage and control are helpful to the full growth of the

individual so as to enable him to take his place in the society of nations. This brings us to the present and future *problems* of education in Bengal.

Now, the entire system of secondary education in Bengal, inspite of its recent changes and innovations in the curriculum by the University, which solve only the fringe of the problem, is in a chaotic condition and needs a thorough overhauling.

First comes the problem of all problems—the question of finance. Government grants to education in Bengal are extremely meagre and they have remained practically stationary for a long time. There is no effort on the part of the University and the Government to improve the lot of teachers who are to mould the future citizens of Bengal. Now, the solution of the problem of finance lies in the hands of the present ministry who should loosen their purse strings as they are doing with regard to other departments of the government, for "Bengal wants more education, and she also wants better education. Neither aspect should be sacrificed for the sake of the other." In all other provinces there is a move on the part of the governments to put into operation the Sargent Scheme and give effect to many of its recommendations while there seems to be 'stagnation and sloth and little sign of active and progressive movement' so far as the Bengal Government is concerned.

Next comes the problem of the duality of control which has already been referred to and which has prevented the schools from attaining the desired standard of efficiency. The University is blamed for not being responsible for the actual responsibilities vested in them. And in recent years with the starting of new and new high schools and with the steady increase in the number of students in Matriculation classes, the management and supervision of the quality of work in the high schools affiliated to it, have been extremely difficult. This is evident from the fact that this year more than sixty thousand candidates took the Matriculation examination, and the satisfactory conducting of the examination of this huge number of candidates was no easy task for the University.

Hence arises the necessity of creating a separate Board of Secondary Education with a view to having one unitary control. There is no difference of opinion as to the urgency of an autonomous organization for the best interest of education in the province. But the form or constitution that was from time to time proposed to be thrust on the Board was most objectionable from the educational point of view.

Sometime back the League Government of Bengal in its Ministry of Education, that had appointed a Special Officer, drafted a "Secondary Education Bill," and they were determined to get it passed into law as soon as practicable. The draft Bill accepted in part the principle of decentralisation of power but at the same time sought to neutralise its good effects by surreptitiously providing for predominance of official control and communal bias in matters educational.

As we have said before, secondary education is a matter of great importance to the nation—undoubtedly of greater importance than University education. Its supervision and control are, therefore, matters of national concern. Accordingly, great care and caution are needed for bending the machinery of control to the needs and ideals of the people of Bengal. Education should be kept absolutely free from the baneful influence of party politics and should be controlled by a body constituted solely from the academic standpoint and not on communal basis. But the proposed Board ran the risk of being a subservient body of the provincial government.

Moreover, it is a matter of regret that while drafting the Bill, the Government did not think it worth while to consult the esteemed opinions of the All Bengal Secondary School Teachers' Association, which is a recognised body, most competent to advise on all secondary school affairs. This Association had put forward some valuable suggestions which, however, produced absolutely no effect on the framers of the draft Bill. Some of the suggestions are as follows :—

"The teachers of Secondary Schools must have at least 33 p.c. representation on the Board, and the Board should be a really autonomous one, completely free from Government control. The President of the Board must be appointed from a panel of names suggested by a committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities, the President of the Federal Public Service Commission and the Chief Justice of Bengal. For, on the right choice of the President the entire success of the working of the Board will depend."

In this connection, it might be pointed out that the work of the Secondary Education Boards, independent of University control, in other provinces has not yielded satisfactory results. And it is time that we should profit by the experiences of other provinces and should welcome the alternative of creating a representative autonomous Board under the general supervision of th University. Or, we might offer another suggestion which is expected to produce desirable results in the matter of control of high school education.

We can further enlarge and expand the constitution, functions

and activities of the existing School Committee by making it a purely representative body composed of representatives from secondary school teachers, college and University professors, guardians' representatives and other distinguished educationists of the province. The University Registrar is at present fully occupied with college and University affairs and can naturally devote little time to matters pertaining to schools. Hence we would recommend the appointment of an additional Assistant Registrar exclusively for school affairs, who would be in charge of the office of the expandedSchool Committee. The Committee will as usual be functioning under the Senate of the University.

This method of control of high school education in Bengal is to be recommended in view of the fact that it will bring uniformity with regard to the educational problems of both secondary and University education.

In conclusion, we close this essay by reiterating the point with which we began—that secondary schools form the ground-work on which the superstructure of a true type of college and University education can be built up in conformity with the hopes, aspirations and ideals of the nation. And the University and the University alone, which represents the best mind of the nation, must be the guiding head in shaping the form which secondary education should take.

BUSSY'S RELATIONS WITH TIPPU SULTAN

R. C. MITRA, M.A.

WITH the intervention of France in the war of American Independence in 1778, hostilities with the English were at once resumed in India and Haider Ali participated in the war as an ally of the French in pursuance of a treaty which D'Orves negotiated with him in 1780. While French operations in India were being provisionally conducted by Marshal Duchemin, the government of Louis XVI had already nominated Bussy, as commander of the expedition and invested him " with full powers over all their possessions, troops and fleet beyond the Cape of Good Hope." The order of appointment which is preserved in its original in the Archive of Pondichery, charged Bussy with announcing to the Indian princes " that the intention of the French government is to restore the conquests that are to be made to their original proprietors and that the French have no other view than that of weakening the English power in India." In consideration of the brilliant services of Bussy in the Deccan in 1752-1758, no happier choice could have been made by the French for this arduous task. He was a tried statesman whose astuteness of judgment and abounding activity had not been enfeebled by age or enervated by the life of luxury to which he had been lately accustomed in France. But Bussy had no illusions, which many French adventure's of fortune sought to foster in the Court, regarding the feasibility of the project he was called upon to undertake. In a brilliant " exposition of the affairs of India " which he made to the Minister when he undertook the task he stated that " a revolution in India is indispensably necessary but it is a little too late to undertake it.....The more we have been humiliated in that part of the earth, the more indispensable is it to reappear there in a manner imposing enough to render our alliance desirable to local princes, ...we should be able to protect them, instead of being protected." His prescience regarding the relative advantages of an alliance with the Marathas or with Haider Ali, was not at fault[1]. In the same document he stated, " But the Marathas receive and never give money and if, as is extraordinary, Ayder Ali Khan should furnish us with some

[1] " Explication que M.le Marquis de Bussy a eue avec le Ministre" published by Martineau in ' Journal de Bussy'.

assistance of this nature, we should then have to fall entirely under his dependance, and to follow his views and his interested policy and we should not be able to undertake any operations except those which are personally advantageous to him."

Leaving Paris on the 13th November, 1781, Bussy reached the Isle of France on the 31st May, 1782, where he was detained by his own illness and the outbreak of an epidemic of scurvy among his soldiers, till the 18th December. He touched at Trincomalee on the 10th March 1783' and the next day he wrote his first letter to Tipu Sultan.

The state of affairs in the Deccan which he had presently to face on his landing at Porto Novo (17th March) was far from re-assuring. Suffren had obtained three victories on the English which were indecisive and had only the effect of clearing the passage of the sea for the French. Haider had died on 7th September, 1782, and was succeeded by Tipu. Weary of waiting vainly for the French on the Coromondal Coast, Tipu had departed for the Malabar coast to meet the English attack on his dominions and with the major portion of his troops he had also carried away a French detachment under Cossigny. The main body of the French forces only 600 strong under Hoffelize who had succeeded Duchemin, on the latter's death on 10th August, 1782, was not paid for lack of funds since 10th January. The Dutch had not paid the 5 millions which they had promised. His entry in his journal on the 13th March[2] describes his position thus, "I am without allies, without market, without means of transport in a country ruined beyond imagination, and I have only 5 millions with which to procure these objects as well as those most necessary for the army. In spite of the reforms I propose to introduce, I will anticipate that the salary of the army, exclusive of any extraordinary expenses will cost nearly a million per month. The "total French forces consisted of 3,500 Europeans, 300 or 400 Africans and at most 4,000 Sepahis not yet well disciplined, and "by sea the squadron of 14 vessels in seaworthy condition."[3] Reflecting on his resources he observed on the 12th March "I would not have undertaken to restore peace with such inadequate resources, not to speak of continuing a war."[4] The base of operation at Cuddalore was ill-chosen. "Only 200 sailors could by a night landing have stormed it before

[2] Journal de Bussy p. 329.
[3] Journal de Bussy p. 356.
[4] Do p. 328.

one could oppose them.[5] His only ally was Tippu but the reports of Suffren and Hoffelize and his own judgment of affairs had awakened grave misgivings in his mind about the ability and sincerity of Tippu. In his letter of 9th March Suffren wrote, " Tippu seems to follow the plan of campaign of his father relative to the war with the English. But he does not seem to possess either the capacity or the brains of his father. He has still less confidence in us, and above all, infinitely less of friendly feeling," Hoffelize wrote to De Launey on the 23rd February, ' I had once thought that the Nawab would take a vigorous and determined decision and we would at last at little cost, decide the fate of the campaign in this part of the country but this Nawab is worse than nothing." Referring to the difficulties which the French had in maintaining themselves for a year in a country devastated by Haider's campaigns he adds, " Haider had after all, an outlook, an individuality of character and a command of details which the new Nawab is incapable of grasping. It is his Darbar that guides him and it is for the most part purchased by the English."

The first letter of Bussy to Tippu Sultan was written on the 11th March from Trincomalee intimating his arrival in India in two days and expressing a formal condolence for the death of Haider Ali. This was followed by another letter on the 21st from Cuddalore. Bussy was " as mortified as surprised to find that Tippu had departed beyond the Ghats.....at a moment when it was highly important that we should have united." He also assured Tipu of the " subsequent arrival of reinforcements of equal strength as his own and on sea of sufficient forces to establish French superiority." He concluded with wishing the speedy return of Tippu and with urging Tippu meanwhile to issue precise instructions, to be punctually followed, about furnishing him with provisions and bullocks for drawing carts. Tippu's sudden departure, as explained in Tippu's letter of the 21st March, was caused " by the English attack on his dominions and the capture of Thiagar,[5] Mangalore and other territories. Tipu, in his turn requested Bussy to send Suffren to his help at Mangalore. Tipu stated that he had " left 35,000 men for the assistance of Hoffelize under the command of " Mir Moiddin Ali Kan and insisted on being informed of the exact number of Bussy's troops and battleships. In a note against this letter Bussy remarked

[5] Letter to Marquis de Castries in the Archive of Pondichery written on 9th September, 1783.

in his own handwriting, that "the said 35,000 actually stands for 12 to 14,000 men, on foot or on horse both of inferior quality of which 3,000 had already departed for Tanjore." The statement of Bussy's resources was supplied in Bussy's letter of the 26th March in which Bussy reiterated more urgently than before his demand for bullocks and 100 camels, all on cash, for carrying bombs and bullets necessary for his contemplated siege of Trichinopoly, then held by Col. Long. His suspicion of being abandoned by the Nawab, as indicated by his entry in his journal on the 21st March, was strengthened by the report of an unseemly altercation that followed between Said Saheb, Commander of the Nawab's forces and Villeneuve.[6] Said Saheb wanted Villeneuve to accompany him with the French forces to Karor to relieve the garrison there which was being beseiged by Col. Long from Trichionopoly. He further professed to have news of the approach of a big English army up to Great Mountain and Poudmialé on its way to Cuddalore and of 10 ships leaving Madras for the same destination. Hence Said Saheb's anxiety to remove his army to a secure zone. Villeneuve could not agree to Said Saheb's proposal before he had orders from Bussy. But Said Saheb demurred at this on the ground that it would mean delay. Bussy remarks against this letter that his place could be reached by a runner in 4 hours only! He records the observation that the news of the sailing of the English vessels from Madras "was a mean lie as we have 2 vessels and 2 fregates before Madras," and that "Said Saheb was simply acting under secret instruction from Tippu to rest for a while in the Carnatic and then to slink back across the Ghats under some specious excuse whatever." Tippu on his part urged Bussy to come promptly with the Squadron to the relief of Managalore (Letter of the 30th March) and in his letter of the 2nd April he intimated the capture of Nagor and Coreal Bandar and 40 vessels by the English. Bussy's letters to Tippu and to Apou Mahamed his chief chofdar are incessant entreaties for cavalry troops and beasts of burden. In his letter of the 18th June Bussy announced the approaching naval combat between Suffren and the English, and after renewing his appeal for cavalry reinforcements he closed with a pathetic reminder to Tippu that "if you neglect to follow my counsel, God only knows what may arrive.[7]

Vainly as Bussy was to expect aid from Tippu, his despair was

[6] Letter No. 497 of the Pondichery Archive, from Krishnarao to Rajapa. All the letters referred to herein are in the same Archive.

[7] Journal of Bussy, p. 339.

no shocking surprise for him. As early as the 21st March he recorded in the journal, " Tippu's departure from this coast bears the appearance of an abandonment." To insure himself against this contingency he had already " opened negotiations with the Marathas, the Subadar of the Deccan and other princes, while delicately handling my (his) relations with Tippu, as it is important to do, under the circumstances." He further observed that the alliance with Haider Ali and Tippu had been the initial blunder of the French for it had the effect of alienating the Asiatic princes who held the one as a brigand and the other as a tyrant." In his opinion Nizam Ali would have been a more useful ally for the French.

But Bussy's irritation at Tippu's tardiness, however natural, was not wholly justified. "From a purely Indian point of view, Tippu's inquietude had stronger justification."[8] The confidence of Haider Ali and Tippu in the French had received many rude shocks. Bussy reported to the Marquis of Castries on 18th December, 1782, of the greed and corruption of Duchemin and his brother Chenneville who " had extracted large sums of money from Haider without firing a shot " for him and confessed that " but for the news of my arrival, Haider would have made his peace with the English long ago." Besides Tippu had waited long—perhaps too long till he considered the opportunity as irretrievably lost and the eagerly expected Bussy arrived too late. Again when his hereditary dominions were threatened at various points by the enemy he could hardly spare forces for the support of an ally whose assistance had hitherto stood him in poor stead.

Yet, in spite of his embarrassment, Tippu sent 10,000 soldiers under Said Saheb to help the French, when the English advanced to Permacovil on the 9th June. Bussy complained later of " Tippu's seeking to justify the conduct of Said Saheb who remained inactive during the battle in spite of Bussy's orders and entreaties " and suspected that " Said Saheb was purchased over by the English for a long time."[9]

The battles which took place near Cuddalore were of brief duration and consisted of an engagement on the 13th June and an ineffective sortie on the 27th. Lord Cornwallis wrote to General Stuart that one more victory like this and there would be no more English army

[8] Martineau—Bussy et l'Inde Française, p. 353.
[9] Letter No. 540, of Pondichery Archive.

in the Carnatic.[10] The news of the Peace of Versailles having reached the English, it was communicated by them to the French and hostilities were immediately closed.

The settlement of the details of the peace terms with the English and the negotiation of an honourable treaty between the English and Tippu, were to exercise the diplomatic abilities of Bussy even more vigorously than the conduct of the war had done.

The English demanded the surrender of the prisoners whom Suffren had taken and had, for want of suitable place of confinement, handed over to Haider Ali who kept them under chains, irrespective of grade and status. In the event of Tippu's refusal to surrender them now when he could justly consider himself as having been deserted by his allies, Bussy might be called upon to perform the unpleasant task of joining the English in a war against his erstwhile ally Tippu.[11] Thanks to the courtesy and tact of Bussy and Lord Macartney of Madras this question was postponed till Tippu had made his peace with the English. Meanwhile Bussy apprehended a coalition of the Marathas and Nizam Ali with the English in a war against Tippu and advised him to make an early peace with the English, in which task he assured Tippu of his good offices. (Letter to Tippu, 2nd July.) This only evoked an angry recrimination from Tippu against the French, whose alliance, he said, had cost his father immense sums of money and who had betrayed and deserted him in his need. To this, Piveron de Morlat, the French agent at Mysore was instructed to " tactfully remind Tippu of the dangers that threatened him on all sides, and from the Marathas in particular and to add that Haider Ali had declared the war 18 months before the arrival of the French troops in India and uniquely at his own interest " (Bussy's Letter to Piveron, 30th July) Shortly afterwards Tippu launched on the preliminaries of peace on the 2nd August under the mediation of Marlat. Bussy wrote to Nizam Ali and the Marathas, requesting them not to molest the Mysore territories. But for reasons which the French sources do not reveal, Tippu received the French offers of mediation with growing coldness and ill-concealed reluctance. Bussy in his letter to Tippu on the 11th September expressed his pained surprise at hearing from Madras that two agents of Tippu Appajiram and Shrinivas Rao had already arrived there and that Said Saheb had despatched them 12 days

[10] Gandart'sN otes at the foot of p. 76 of 'Les Denéres luttes des Français dans l'Inde et sur l'occan Indian.

[11] Martineau—Bussy et l'Inde Française, pp. 377-390.

earlier than had been agreed upon, and without the knowledge of Bussy. The English, however, agreed to admit a French agent in the peace council, simply to answer when necessary, the English objections to Tippu's proposals. Accordingly Martin and his interpreter Krishna Rao were sent to Madras. The negotiations however continued without French mediation and the terms were agreed upon on the 10th October. The abrupt departure of Cossigny who had accompanied Tippu on his march from the Carnatic in 1783, furnished a fresh cause of discord which the sagacity of Bussy smoothed over. Tippu accused Cossigny of malpractices regarding the ration he obtained for his soldiers, etc. and of his refusal to submit to a review of his troops. Cossigny on his part complained of " insufferable ills and humiliations to which he had been subjected." Bussy prudently abstained from pressing the matter to a bitter end and dropped it with the simple reply that under any circumstances Cossigny should not have objected to the proposed review of his troops. Negotiations with Tippu were protracted till February, 1784 and Bussy was anxious lest the alliance of the Marathas and the English might be directed against Tippu. So he strongly advised Tippu to make his peace with the English without delay, while he made it clear to Tippu that it was not the Anglo-French peace but Tippu's own interest that dictated this policy. Perceiving that French prestige in India had been tarnished by the Peace of Versailles which had forced them to abandon their only ally without sufficient territorial compensation, Bussy was eager to work off this damaging impression from the mind of the Indian princes by his good offices for Tippu and it was a great relief to him when Tippu signed the Treaty of Mangalore in March, 1784.

TEMPERAMENT AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

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Talents and temperaments go together in the determination of vocational success and happiness and accordingly testing of both these groups form a basic feature in every vocational guidance examination programme. If we however be a bit critical it will be not much difficult to recognise that testing of temperament generally is not so seriously considered or rigorously attended to, as is done in the case of testing intelligence and other special abilities. There may be reasons for this lag but that does not in any way minimise the importance of temperament in the spheres of vocational testing. Bartlett rightly observes in his article " Temperament and Social status " that, " In the right environment an ounce of pushfulness may be more effective than a ton of learning, and tact will often go higher up the ladder than cleverness." In this paper I shall discuss in brief the different methods that are followed in assessing temperamental qualities and how some improvement can be made in those respects. It may be mentioned however in this connection that one of the main factors responsible for the lack of systematic study of temperamental factors, is the fact that there is generally no one accepted body of theory to explain the true nature of temperment, and secondly because of the elusive nature of temperament itself. This will be patent if we go through some of the views, held by different schools of thought regarding the nature of temperament.

Temperament as a particular type of mental trait has been recognised since long time past. Various theories have been put forward to explain the nature of temperament and accordingly the meaning of the term is found to differ. Broadly speaking these theories can be classed under three heads as follows :

(*a*) *Physiological theory*—Galen recognised four types of temperament,—the sanguine, the choleric, the phlegmatic and the melancholic,—which, he believed, were determined by the various combinations between some fluids or ' humours ' of the body. Later on, he proceeded further saying that these hunours might combine

in fifteen different ways and accordingly he in place of previous four discerned thirteen types of mental temperaments.

Early in the 18th century Rüdiger discarded the theory of 'humours' and replaced them by two gases, ether and the air, the former being the cause of light qualities and the latter of heavy ones. The 'humours' and the 'gases' as bases of temperament were next displaced by 'solids.' Other investigators traced the relation of temperamental qualities in various ways, namely, to the thickness of nerves and the sensitivity of senses,—to the composition of blood,—to the varying stages of nutrition,—to the varying kinds of vibration which are set up by external and internal stimuli of the brain tissue and so on. Finally something like a return to the old theory of 'humours' has been effected, for, in place of humours have been subsittuted the 'hormones' and such like secretions from the ductless glands.

(*b*) *Morphological theory*—Kretschmer held the view that there existed a close relationship between temperamental constitution and physical make-up and accordingly he distinguished two main types of physique,—the 'pyknic' (short and thick) and the 'asthenic' (long and lean),—which were found to be associated respectively with temperamental tendencies designated as the 'cycloid' and the 'schizoid.' Kretschmer further recognises another physical type which he calls the 'athletic' and in this connection Spearman criticises that while the bodily types are three in number, the number of the corresponding mental types are only two. He says therefore that the fit between these two types, mental and physical, is not too good.

(*c*) *Psychological theories*—

(*i*) Theory of instincts: McDougall summarises temperament as the conglomeration of the instinctive tendencies and an individual's temperament, according to him, is characterised by the dominance of one of those tendencies.

(*ii*) Structuralist's school: Titchener defines temperament as a "general term for affective constitution, for the congenital susceptibility of the individual to emotive stimuli, and for the character of his emotive response."

(*iii*) Psychoanalytical school: According to this school the fundamental impulses of man, constantly starting for satisfaction, are somehow or other denied formal expression. This denial may bring about a repression of those impulses ultimately resulting in

the formation of complexes, or the impulses may gain expression in an indirect way by the mechanism, known as 'sublimation.' The temperament of a man or how he will behave is more or less determined by the unconscious mechanisms.

(*iv*) Jung and Cattel's views: Jung and Cattel recognise two types of temperament which are respectively labelled as 'Extrovert-Introvert' and 'Surgent-Desurgent.'

The views appear to be so diverse that one is apt to be confused as to what should be the right and scientific theory of temperament. It will however be an absurdity if the study of temperamental tendencies be disowned or not rigorously attended to, on account of the elusive and controversial nature of temperament. Vocational success is in no lesser way determined, as already stated, by temperamental factors as it is by those of intelligence and other special abilities. Moreover barring the question of genesis in which respect disagreement between different schools exists, it is not so difficult to assume a working hypothesis about the functions of temperament. It is this assumption that has been responsible, irrespective of the theoretical controversies, for the device by different investigators of the various methods, to be mentioned presently, that are followed at present during vocational guidance examination or similar other situations for measuring temperamental tendencies.

(*a*) Questionnaire method: This method with various modifications is the most widely followed one in attacking the problem of temperamental diagnosis. The subject is asked to indicate his habitual modes of behaviour in different circumstances. Frequently the replies to the questions, merely require a 'yes' or 'no' answer. If the questions are properly framed and other necessary precautions are taken, and provided further that the answers are given without any prejudice, such a method is sure to yield very valuable results.

(*b*) Rating scales: Judgements according to rating scales of various types are also in use. The system and construction of the rating scales are varied depending on five, seven or ten (usually five), either verbal or linear in denomination. For example, a list of some specific temperamental traits is prepared, each one of the latter being followed by five letters denoting a range between two extremes, —highest and lowest. The letters are marked by the examiner, indicating his assessment. Scales with descriptive terms are also used to mark off the different degrees. The rating scale however, though a useful tool, has obvious limitations and its value depends

on the way in which it is constructed and the skill with which it is used.

(*c*) Word-association method : This method, devised first by Jung but developed and diversified in many ways by others, is specially utilised in the determination of neurotic trends and other unconscious tendencies.

(*d*) Method of interview : Personal interview is one of the best methods yet devised for the estimation of temperamental traits, provided always that it is done in a systematic way. As ordinarily used it is not only unreliable but is apt to mislead the examiner. A psychological interview is not simply a face to face meeting or 'a rigid questionnaire in oral form.' An expert interviewer approaches the interview with a definite plan of attack. He is all along vigilant for clues which may come out in the candidate's answers to his questions, and which if tactfully followed may yield very valuable findings.

(*e*) School report : Simpler and at the same time reliable, is the method suggested by Thorndike. He suggests that a progressive score of an individual's conduct may be recorded in each class through which he passes, provided the final record of conduct by various observers is madei n simple and general terms of behaviour. Thorndike found that years afterwards poor school marks of conduct tended to sort out some of the failures and delinquents.

These are in brief the different methods that are pursued in assessing temperamental qualities, during vocational guidance examination or similar other situations. Though all the methods may claim to have some individual merit of their own, it may be said without reservation that the reliability and validity of the results accruing from them, depend much on the adoption of necessary precautions and the skill with which they are used. Another difficulty that seems to be patent is the dearth of a proper criterion with which the results of the different methods may be correlated for validation purposes. The common criterion that is used is the subjective opinion of the judges which is surely not an ideal criterion ; sometimes a follow-up study of the results are made which though a very desirable procedure consumes a good deal of time.

But before I conclude it seems to be pertinent to point out a further limitation, and that is the neglect of the unconscious. The role of unconscious tendencies in determining the temperamental make-up of an individual can never be disputed. So for a systematic and thorough assessment of temperamental traits probing the un-

conscious is essential. Generally for the latter task, the method of word association and sometimes specific questionnaires are found to be utilised. But the way in which such approaches are made does not seem to do proper justice to the problem. Of course it is to be admitted that ordinarily a fairly long time is necessary to get a proper picture of one's unconscious trends, and such time for practical reasons, may be usually difficult to afford. But does that justify one's indifference, in dealing with the problem of unconscious, as is usually found to be the case, when he is faced with the task of analysing the temperamental qualities? Cannot a short cut method with reasonable degree of precision be devised, to solve the time problem? This is a very dilemmatic situation and it should be the duty of the experts to give some concrete suggestions on this matter. Sometimes back I made an humble attempt to study the Unconscious trends of some subjects, keeping in mind the shortness of time factor, and for this I adopted the questionnaire method. The nature of the questions, the precautions taken, and the principles that had been followed in the framing of the questionnaires had been discussed in all details in the following contributions* of mine. The results however were found to be very encouraging and revealed some definite unconscious trends of the subjects.

* 1. The questionnaire method in vocational psychology (Calcutta Review).
2. Psychological Determinants in the choice of vocations (Calcutta University).

Round the World

The Murder of two British Sergeants in Palestine and American Jewish Opinion—

It should be remembered that sometime ago in retaliation for the execution of three Irgunist terrorists, two British sergeants who had already been kidnapped and held as hostages were hanged by the Irgun. In this connection Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, issued a statement which was published in the New York Times on August 5 last. Dr. Silver condemns the murder of the two British sergeants unhesitatingly and unequivocally. But he also wants us to appreciate the circumstances, in which the murder was committed. He tells us that the United Nations Special Committee which was then at work at Palestine and which was to submit its report by September had issued an appeal to the British Government to postpone the execution of the terrorists. It should be emphasised that not only this Special Committee had apprehended unfavourable repercussions of this execution and accordingly recommended delay but the Special Assembly of the United Nations, " anxious to afford its Committee of Inquiry every opportunity to work in an atmosphere of calm and order," had called upon all concerned, government and people, to refrain from the threat or use of force. It is, however, unfortunate that the British Government paid no heed to any of these appeals and saw no reason to delay the execution of the three terrorists. Dr. Silver also refers in his statement to the retaliatory activities of British troops after the murder of the two British sergeants, which again had followed the execution of the three terrorists. He points out that within a few days of the murder " British troops shot up the village of Pardess Hanna. Riding in armoured cars in Tel-Aviv, British soldiers fired upon a bus full of people, all of them innocent of any crime. Five of them were killed and fifteen were wounded. Then followed a night of terror in Tel-Aviv, during which British troops and police fired shots and threw bombs into restaurants and cafes, into crowds emerging from the theatre. Stores and shops were raided, smashed and destroyed. An armoured car manned by British police deliberately plunged into a Jewish funeral procession. Similar pogroms were perpetrated in other parts of Palestine." Evidently while the murder of the British sergeants is to be condemned, the reprisals are also not to be supported. They were barbarous.

The Report of the U. N. O. Special Committee—

Reference has been made above to this Committee in which an Indian representative was also included. It is understood that the Committee has now submitted its report. This has not been published at the time of writing. But its chief recommendations are now known. It is understood that the Committee has advised partition of Palestine into three parts, of which Jerusalem will be one, as a solution of the Arab-Jewish tangle. It does not seem that this recommendation will give satisfaction to either party. The other solution recommended by three members including the Indian representative is a federal union of Arab and Jewish parts. That also involves great difficulty in working. A federation of warring units may hardly be operated with success.

National Language of India—

The Constitution that is now being framed in the Assembly at New Delhi is expected to provide for a national language of India. This will be the medium of discussion and debate in the Indian Legislature and will be the medium of correspondence between the Indian and Provincial (or State) Governments. Until the Constitution is finally drafted and adpoted, we cannot be sure as to which language will be given preference for this purpose. Meanwhile in the Constituent Assembly itself it has become the practice to adopt Hindi or Urdu as the medium of debate with English as the alternative language for the purpose. Not unoften speeches by important members *e.g.*, Pandit Nehru are originally delivered in Urdu and then repeated in English. But many other members have developed the habit of speaking only in Hindi or Urdu which is not intelligible to members coming particularly from the South. Again to members coming from provinces like Bengal, Hindi may be to a great extent intelligible but Urdu is usually a difficult fare to tackle. Some members from the South have taken very much to heart the infliction upon them of a language which they cannot understand, and in protest at least on two occasions they made their speeches in their own South Indian languages which none but their immediate colleagues could understand.

India has many languages of which at least fifteen are spoken by a large body of people and may claim to have a well developed literature behind them. Hindi or its Urdu variety is only one of them. It is true that it is spoken by a larger number than any other language. It is also true that people of those areas which may be regarded as the heart of Hindustan speak either Hindi or Urdu. But it should be remembered that in the Indian Union the territory inhabited by Hindi or Urdu-speaking people will be an important part no doubt but it will not be the only part. There will be other areas whose people do not speak either Hindi or Urdu but they will also be integral parts of the Union and their interests should

be as much consulted as the interests of the Hindi-speaking areas. It should be borne in mind in this connection that the literature of some of these areas is far more developed than the litreature behind Hindi or Urdu.

In view of the fact that the Indian Union will consist of linguistic provinces, it is illogical to make the language of two or three of these provinces the national language of India to the exclusion of the languages of other units. The languages of other provinces will no doubt be the official languages of those areas. But this is not likely to suffice. The affairs of the Union which will be a compact one so far at least as the provinces are concerned will be conducted through the medium of a language identified only with certain areas. To the people of these areas this language will be an easy, natural and handy medium of expression and record. But to the people of other areas its use will have to be acquired. To do so will involve great efforts which few may put forth. None will deny that this arrangement will provide an undue advantage to one group of people and an undue handicap to the rest. In view of this there was absolutely no harm in maintaining English as the official language of the Indian Union. It is, of course, spoken by a small section of the people and that too very imperfectly. But this handicap applies to all parts of the country. Hindi or Urdu will also be spoken by a small section, and that also very imperfectly, in non-Hindi-speaking areas. So while in the case of Hindi the handicap will attach only to non-Hindi-speaking areas, in the case of English the handicap will attach to all areas. There is much truth in the saying that the difficulty shared by others is more tolerable than difficulties borne alone. Besides, if we are not to go increasingly backward and enter back into our shell, it will be necessary to maintain the use of English in secondary schools and universities. When on this account people from all parts of India, however few they may be, will have some command over this language, there is no sense in discarding it as the national language. It may be pointed out that English is a foreign language and its adoption will not augment our national honour. But why should we look at it as the language of Britain alone? It is now the language of half the world. It should also be remembered in this connection that it is yet to be decided whether we are to remain inside or go outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. So long as we remain in the Commonwealth, there is no incongruity in maintaining English as the only official language. Even when we prefer to come out, there will be much convenience in that arrangement. In case English has to be discarded, all the important languages should have equality. Hindi or Urdu cannot be more national than Bengali or Tamil.

Dutch-Indonesian War—

The all-out attack which the Dutch forces made upon the territory

and people of the Indonesian Republic in the morning of July 21 and continued for days afterwards was the subject of a reference to the U. N. O. by the Indian and Australian representatives at Lake Success. It is too early yet at the time of writing to say what the final outcome of this reference will be. But although meanwhile the U. N. O. made an appeal for an immediate suspension of war, reports have been published of Dutch aggression in places even after the proposal of the suspension was accepted on both sides. This is no indication of better attitude in the future on the part of the Dutch Government towards the Indonesian question. In fact Dutch activities in these islands, supported, of course, by British sympathy and co-operation, have been of late very unimaginative and reactionary.

Before the second World War the Dutch had been in occupation of Indonesia for over three centuries and morally as well as legally they were to ensure the safety and security of these islands from foreign aggression. Actually early in the War Holland was conquered by the Germans and the Dutch Government could operate only from London. Consequently when sometime later the Japanese entered the War and invaded Indonesia, there was hardly any organised authority to resist the invaders. The Indonesians were left to fend for themselves. They were actually at the mercy of the Japs. For over three years Japanese occupation continued and during this period the Indonesians who had been politically awakened already organised themselves as best they could. Then in the middle of 1945 Japan collapsed and that brought opportunity to the Indonesians for establishing their own authority in their country. They declared it to be a republic and started administering their affairs in their own way. But while still young in their career, the British army intervened and tried to hold the ring for their Dutch friends. Actually after a time as in Indo-China so in Indonesia a large body of European soldiers were brought in through British co-operation to re-establish European supremacy. It was but inevitable that clashes would occur between these new invaders and the local Indonesians who were out to make secure their new-found freedom.

After many of these conflicts, a draft agreement was initialled in October, 1946, at Lingardjati between the two parties. It was not, however, signed before four months more were allowed to elapse. It was expected that the signing of this agreement would result in peace. It should be borne in mind that the chief provision of this agreement was that not later than 1st January, 1949, Indonesia would be recognised by the Dutch as a sovereign, democratic United States, and meanwhile an interim arrangement would continue. So, it may be repeated, it was naturally expected that on the Dutch side nothing would be done to disturb the peace. Actually, however, the Dutch had entered into this agreement not that they wanted a real transference of power to Indonesian hands but that they wanted

a breathing space during which they might reorganise their position for re-assertion of their authority in the nick of time. In the absence of sincerity, it was but inevitable that undesirable things would happen. For the interim period the Dutch had made several proposals, some of which the Indonesian Republican Government had accepted. But the proposal of a joint system of police was rejected by them on the ground that it would be impracticable. In fact this joint police system was proposed by the Dutch as the thin end of their control over internal affairs, which they would like to make comprehensive again as before.

Anyhow conversations on these terms were continuing. But as it soon transpired, the Dutch used these conversations only as a cover. They were importing fresh troops from Holland and as they arrived in sufficient number, their attitude became increasingly truculent. Even in the month of June there were disturbances on the ground of the Dutch troops violating demarcation lines at least three hundred times. Then there were Dutch air-raids on Indonesian harbours, as a result of which many thousands of innocent civilians were either killed or rendered homeless. It is also to be noted that in South Celebes Dutch troops were reported to have organised a bestial massacre of the local population. The climax was reached in the early morning of 21st July when an all-out attack was made on the Indonesians by the Dutch forces.

Korea's Future—

The future of Korea is a matter of serious international discussion to-day. Many had hoped that along with the defeat of Japan, this question would find a final answer one way or the other. Unfortunately due to international rivalry only a tentative arrangement could be made at the time and final solution of the problem had to be postponed.

Korea was formally annexed to Japan in 1910 and for years previous to that this country which stood in the same relation to Japan as the low countries to Britain was under Japanese control. It should, however, be borne in mind that the thinking section of the Korean people never became reconciled to the status of a dependency which was now imposed upon their country. It is true that only a very small proportion of the twenty-four million people of Korea can even read or write. Some say not more than five per cent. But both among Koreans inside Korea itself and outside in China, Hawaii islands and the United States of America a movement for the liberation of Korea from Japanese thraldom had been all along maintained. In 1919 there was actually a rising in Korea, which was, however, suppressed and the men implicated in it were variously dealt with. Many who had been imprisoned in this connection were released only after the defeat of Japan in 1945.

During the second War the Koreans abroad found an opportunity

of publicising their demands for an independent Korea and attracting to it the attention of the Allies. Actually Korean patriots constituted a provisional government for Korea which was yet to be liberated. This government functioned in China. Unfortunately the Allies had no definite ideas of their own as to the policy they would pursue when Japan would be defeated and Korea would be liberated from its control. Consequently the provisional government had no recognition and no support. Actually the Allies had at Cairo arrived at an evasive formula about Korea (in 1943). It was to the effect that Korea would have " independence in due course," which might mean anything. Later in December, 1945 at Moscow they decided upon " four-power trusteeship of Korea for a period up to five years." In other words for about five years to come independence would be in cold storage and Korea would be ruled by the trustees. In plain language there would only be a transfer of power from one master to another.

In any event defeat of Japan came more quickly than anticipated. The American troops at Okinawa now moved posthaste towards Korea. The Russians who had joined the war against Japan only in their own time had still lesser difficulty in reaching that country. In consequence both armies took possession of parts of Korea and in between them the Korean patriots who had been released from prison and who desired to set up a " People's Republic " were pressed to silence and inaction. Nor had the provisional government at Chungking any better opportunity. So Korea was divided into two zones—northern zone comprising more than fifty per cent of the territory and only forty per cent of the people and the southern zone with less than fifty per cent of territory and about sixty per cent of the people. It need not be pointed out that the former came under occupation of the Soviet forces and the latter were occupied by the Americans. The territory under Soviet control is mostly of industrial importance while the southern territory under American occupation is essentially agricultural.

The policy pursued so far in the two zones is almost diametrically opposite in economic matters. While in the northern zone the Soviet authorities have adopted the policy of nationalising mines and industries, abolishing large farms and dividing the land into small plots which would be owned and cultivated by the owners alone, in the south as expected, capitalist economy is fully maintained. In view of this wide divergence in economic principles and social organisation adopted in two halves of Korea, there is likely to be a good deal of trouble in adjusting the two systems when the country would come under unified control. The Koreans passed through much oppression and cruelty which had inevitably to be associated with foreign rule of the Japanese. After the defeat of Japan they had again to pass through a period of uncertainty and trouble when the change over was taking place. It is likely they will have again to go

through the same uncertainty and trouble when the present period of foreign rule by the Americans in one zone and the Russians in another is ended. This last might have been avoided, if after the defeat of Japan a permanent arrangement could be made at once. Unfortunately as this might have implied immediate taking over of the government by the Koreans themselves, it was opposed by the Americans. It should be noted in this connection that until recently the Americans were the only great power without much of a selfish design in the Far East. But the situation has considerably changed and who would say that they are today without any territorial ambition of their own in this part of the world? So it is yet too early to see clearly the future of Korea.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Voltaire's Fragments on India.—Translated by Mrs. Freda Bedi, B.A. (Hons.) (Oxon.). Published by Lion Press, Lahore, Pp. 90.

It appears that this work published in Voltaire's collected works was discovered accidentally by Mr. Bedi when he was conducting research work in the State Library in Berlin.

Mrs. Bedi, author of that outstanding picture of Indian life *Behind Mud Walls*, has, by translating it into English, done an invaluable service to those interested in the struggle for political supremacy in our motherland waged by the English and the French East India Companies in early 18th century, giving as it does an account of it from the French angle. We get here vivid pictures of Dupleix, La Bourdonayye and specially of Lalli whose activities are treated with great sympathy and in considerable detail. Side by side with them, we get Voltaire's conception of Hindu society and its leading members. The value of this book consists not so much in its being a purely historical record as, in Mrs. Bedi's language, "an intensely personal and acute summary of Indian affairs in the eighteenth century from the pen of a brilliant Frenchman and a brilliant satirist."

M. B. B.

Democracy with a Tommygun.—By C. G. Burchett. Published by Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 276. Price Rs. 7-8.

Mr. Burchett, author of the very popular and informative book, *Wingates Phantom Army* has in the work under review maintained his reputation as a narrator of important events in a vivid way and also for success with which he has understood the underlying significance of the struggles carried on by various subject peoples in South East India against the Japanese in the Second World War.

The angle from which the problem has been approached is that " the right to use the ballot box has ever been won with bullets and blood " and he has shown us how the common people of the areas visited by him during the period 1941 to 1945 tried to achieve democracy with tommygun, home-made cannon, rifle, and even dah and bolo. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the author's account of the Chinese, the Burmese and the Indian reactions to the war and the reasons for the different attitudes.

Incisive and interesting comments on various aspects of life in China, Burma and India are scattered throughout this very entertaining book which the reader will find it difficult to lay down once he has started reading

it. The remarks on the Fascist tendencies of the Kuo Min Tang, the capitalistic outlook of Burma's Thakin Party, the mercenary nature of the Indian army and the reasons behind the Bengal Famine undoubtedly prove that the author refused to accept orthodox views because he had taken pains to both see things for himself as also to consider them dispassionately. Those parts of the book where he has dealt with the peasant movement in China and India must possess special interest for socialists as well as for people with socialist sympathies.

There can be nothing but praise for this book which makes no other claim than that it is a journalist's account of certain interesting phases of the Second World War as waged in a particular part of the world.

It is a pity that an otherwise well printed and well got-up book should be marred by a number of misprints.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Impeach Beverly Nichols.—By Jag Parvesh Chander. Indian Printing Works, Lahore. Pp. 330. Price Rs. 6-12.

Mr. Jag Parvesh in this book which is mainly an answer to Mr. Beverly Nichols' *Verdict on India* has ably exposed the mess of distortions and inaccuracies fabricated by him about India and Indian national leaders. The author has taken pains to meet the top Congress leaders who were specially vilified by Mr. Nichols and secured authentic reports challenging his entire contention. In very forceful and convincing language, he has not only torn into shreds the tissue of misrepresentations spread by Mr. Nichols, but has also impeached him for wilful perversion of facts.

No doubt the author has done valuable service by exposing the false allegations of Mr. Nichols, but many will not like the way in which he has attacked Christianity as a reply to Mr. Nichols' unfair criticism of Hinduism.

It is a well written book, but the price is rather high which may stand in the way of its large sale.

D. KAZI

Gandhi and the Youth.—By S. Ramanathan. Sole Distributors, Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 112.

The author was a member of the Madras Cabinet during the period 1937-39 before which he had been an earnest Congress worker on and from Non-Co-operation days. He has therefore every right to claim intimate knowledge of the Congress ideology.

In the book under review, he has given his readers a criticism of Gandhian philosophy which has so far been the impelling force behind the Congress. Claiming to be a realist, he has analysed most of the items of the Constructive Programme and tried to show that, by their very nature, they

must prove of little avail for the attainment of the purposes for which they are recommended.

In his attempt to prove the correctness of his views, the author seems to have succumbed to the temptation of going to the other extreme and found little worthy of commendation in the Congress attempts to revive our village industries, to remove untouchability and Hindu-Muslim antagonism, etc. However justifiable his criticisms, it does seem that they have gone too far in condemning the Gandhian ideology which undoubtedly has certain things including the rousing of the political consciousness of Indians and infusing a militant nationalism into them, to its credit.

There is also the fact that it is as yet too early to judge whether the Congress after coming into power in by far the larger part of India and having at least some realists among its top-rank leaders, will not be compelled by sheer force of circumstances to move, even if unwillingly and slowly, towards the adoption of what the writer would regard as a modern approach towards our problems.

The value of the book in spite of the intemperance into which the author seems to have slipped from time to time and which many would say seriously detracts from its usefulness as a detached study of Gandhism, lies in the fact that he has administered a much needed jolt to and compelled re-thinking among blind followers of Mahatma Gandhi.

"PEREGRINE PICKLE"

Marxist Miscellany.—Volume Seven—Edited by G. Adhikari and published by the People's Publishing House, Bombay 4. Price Rs. 2-4.

Marxist Miscellanies are useful collections of articles published in India on widely different topics of the world seen from the Marxist point of view. And Volume Seven has well maintained the high reputation achieved by previous ones.

In the first article Mr. William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., has warned the people of America against the reactionary forces of his country who, in his words, "would like to establish American imperialist domination over the world with Great Britain in the role of a junior partner" and has pointed out that the current activities of American imperialism, domestic and international, are a grave danger to the peace of the world and a threat to the unity of the united nations. The second article deals with the New Tasks of American Communists and the third is the famous address delivered by V. M. Molotov, Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., on the 28th Anniversary of the October Revolution in which he reviewed the post war policies of the Soviet, foreign and domestic. The fourth article is an exposition of Soviet Federalism by Prof. I. Levin, an eminent Soviet scholar. The next article is the Resolution of the 77th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece which vividly narrates the popular Resistance Movement of the progressive

forces of Greece against the alliance of British and reactionary Greek armies. The last three articles are the "Problem of India's Sterling Balances," "People's Fight against Epidemics in Bengal" and "Jute Industry in Bengal." Mr. H. K. Chaturvedi, a young statistician from U.P., now working under Prof. Mahalanobis of Calcutta has given a very comprehensive history of the growth of the industry, the present condition, and its inhuman exploitation of Indian workers who have been bled white by foreign capitalists.

Those who want to keep themselves acquainted with the various problems of present day world, will find this a valuable collection. It has been priced within the reach of a great number of people.

D. KAZI

Ourselves

Partition of Bengal and the University

In a statement before the Senate on September 20, the Vice-Chancellor emphasised the fact that as a result of political changes in the country and the partition of Bengal which accompanied them the net loss in the income of the University would amount to more than ten lakhs of rupees a year. Of about 2,300 high schools affiliated to the University, 1,300 were located in territories which have now been included in the Eastern Bengal Province of Pakistan. Again of one hundred and twenty colleges affiliated to the University forty were in Eastern Bengal. These schools and colleges have by an ordinance, issued by the Eastern Bengal Government, been taken out of the jurisdiction of the University. It should also be borne in mind that schools and colleges in the province of Assam which were still under the jurisdiction of the University would soon be withdrawn from it. In fact arrangements are almost complete for inaugurating the University of Assam to which the schools and colleges in that province would henceforward be affiliated. By this process also the University of Calcutta would be losing jurisdiction over two hundred and twenty schools and seventeen colleges. So out of the 2,300 schools and 120 colleges, only 779 schools and 63 colleges would continue to remain affiliated to this University. This reduction in the number of affiliated institutions involved a loss not only in prestige and authority of the University but in its financial resources. While making this statement the Vice-Chancellor, of course, made it clear that it was not his intention "to ring a note of pessimism." In fact, he visualized "a great future for the University," although its jurisdiction would be considerably truncated.

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Dr. John Holmes

We are glad to learn that Dr. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church of New York City is due in India in October. He is visiting this country as Rabindra Nath Tagore Lecturer on

Watumull Foundation. During his stay in this country the famous humanist will deliver lectures in a number of Universities and Colleges. The University of Calcutta also will invite him to deliver a course of lectures.

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OFFICE REORGANISATION COMMITTEE, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Mr. B. Dasgupta, M.A., Additional Deputy Secretary, Finance Department, Government of Bengal, has been included in the Committee in place of Mr. Basantakumar Chatterjee resigned. The Committee is presided over by the Vice-Chancellor.

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Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

The undermentioned candidates are declared to have passed the examination for the Diploma in Social Work (Labour Welfare) held in May, 1947.

FIRST CLASS

(Arranged in order of merit)

Rajnarayan Saxena.
Mahanlal Pessunal Makhijani.
Albert S. Magima.
Gur Charan Das Chadha.
Sailendranath Ray.
Ramachandra Venkatesan.
M. A. Hye.
Binaykrishna Deb.
Sivalingam Balakrishna Perunal.
G. Jagannathan.

SECOND CLASS

Praphullakumar Pal.
Hassan Mahalinganna.
Onkar Nath Bhargava.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of E aminations (Offg.).

Notification No. C. 357/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under section 22 read with sub-section (3) of section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor has been pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the sesion 1947-48, the South Calcutta Girls' College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Bengali (Pass), Sanskrit, History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy and Political Philosophy and Geography to the B.A. Pass standard with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject commencing from the year 1949.

Notification No. C/401/Affl.

It is notified for general information that the Governor is pleased to order that the Seth Tolaram Girls' College, Narayanganj shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (alternative vernacular) to the I.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject from 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/8420/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22, read with sub-section (3) of section 21, of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of session, 1947-48, the College de Bussy, Chandernagore, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in French to the B.A. Pass and Honours standards and in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Mathematics and Economics to the B.A. Pass standard with permission to present candidates in these subjects at the examination from the year 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. Misc.R.1

It is notified for general information that the changes in Chapters XXXVII of the Regulations relating to the introduction of plastics as one of the special subjects, under paper IV of the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations in Applied Chemistry, which

have been sanctioned by Government, will be given effect to from the examination of 1948.

Senate House, B. B. DUTT,
The 4th July, 1947. *Registrar (Offg.)*.

Notice

The undermentioned candidate is declared to have passed the Matriculation Examination, held in March, 1946 :—

Roll Maulvi P
Private Student
2. Raicharan Das, 23—Third Division

Senate House, A. P. DASGUPTA,
The 5th August, 1947. *Controller of E aminations (Offg.)*.

Notification No. C/398/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-section (3) of section 21 of the said Act the Governor is pleased to order that the Asutosh College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Statistics to the B.Sc. Pass Standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subejct from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House, B. B. DUTT,
The 11th August, 1947. *Registrar (Offg.)*.

Notification No. C/385/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22 read with sub-section (3) of section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, the Brojomohan College, Barisal, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the Intermediate standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in that subject from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House, B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.)

Notification No. C/394/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (alternative vernacular) and Bengali (Special Vernacular) to the I.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 with permission to present candidates at the examination in those subjects from 1949 and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/343/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with sub-section (3) of section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that the City College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali to the B.A. (Hons.) standard in Botany and Physiology to the B.Sc. (Pass) standard and in Zoology to the I.Sc. and B.Sc. (Pass) standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House, B. B. DUTT,
The August, 1947. *Registrar (Offg.)*.

Notification No. C/347/Affl,

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, the Kushtia College, Nadia, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Urdu (Vernacular), Bengali (Alternative Vernacular), Sanskrit, History, Logic, Elements of Civics and Economics, Arabic, Persian, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping, Commercial Geography and Mathematics to the I.A. standard and in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Urdu (Vernacular), Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Biology to the I.Sc. standard and also in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Urdu (Vernacular), Mental and Moral Philosophy, Economics, History, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian to the B.A. Pass standard, with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1949 and not earlier.

The University will be so good as to ask the authorities of the new College to restrict admission in the Physics and Chemistry classes to 80 students in each of two classes and in the Biology classes to 48 students in each of the 1st year and 2nd year classes as recommended in the report of the Inspectors of Colleges.

Senate House, B. B. DUTT,
The July, 1947. *Registrar (Offg.)*.

THE
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THE NATIONAL FLAG AND THE SYMBOL OF THE CHARKHA

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It was not long after the constitutional Congress took a revolutionary turn with its desire to eliminate foreign rule represented by that section of the Congress that stood for independence that the idea of the National flag was conceived. It was however inevitable that the Mantram had to come first before the symbol could follow.

And so came our Mantram of Freedom in that great national song which gave us the cry, deep sonorous and heart moving of Bande Mataram. With this Mantram on their lips many went to prison, others were transported for life, and the bravest mounted the scaffold smilingly and died. Those were great, those were stirring, times when Bengal a mere province of India hurled defiance at an empire where the sun never sets and a stupefied India, a constitutional Congress, watched with bated breath, till the fire of patriotism lit in Bengal spread throughout India, and the Punjab and Bombay stood beside Bengal to sentinel the new movement, unconstitutional and revolutionary in character led by that combination of valour, the enlightened intellect and brilliant oratory typified in Lala Lajpat Roy, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipinchandra Pal, popularly known as Lal, Bal, Pal.

And behind this trio stood those other two Rabindranath Tagore, the great *charan* Poet of India and Aurovinda Ghose, the poet revolutionary, the Seer-Philosopher of India, both of them giving the

movement that deeper urge, that dynamic force, that sacrificial *tapas* whereby the human soul could shed its fear of death.

It was in August, 1907, however that the first flag hoisting Ceremony took place at the site where Federation Hall was to have been built. The idea of the tricolour standing as it did for the revolutionary cry Liberty, Fraternity and Equality was adopted only the colours chosen were representative of the three main religions of India, Saffron for the Hindus, Green for the Muhammadans, Black for the Sikhs. It is interesting to note that the very same year Hemchandra Das who was sent to learn bomb making in Paris met Madame Cama the international Socialist revolutionary, and that at the annual Session of the Socialist international in Paris in 1907, India's National Flag as then designed was flown with the additions of a lotus, a Cresent and a sun as symbols of the Hindus, Muhamadans and Sikhs, the additions having been made by Madame Cama herself. Thus we see that from its very inception the Indian national flag was associated not only with revolutionary socialism but that it was hoisted by a famous revolutionary Socialist of international fame, Madame Cama in the first year of its life.

Since then the question of the flag seemed to have been put into the background till its need was felt by Mahatma Gandhi when he launched his non-violent non-co-operation movement which for the first time brought the masses of India into the vortex of India's struggle for freedom. Expressing the need he wrote " a flag is a necessity for all nations—millions have died for it. It is no doubt a kind of idolatory, but an idolatory which it would be a sin to destroy .....It will be necessary for us Indians, Hindus, Mohamedans and Christians, Jews, Parsis and all others to recognise a common flag to live and die for."

" A flag to live and die for." It would be well for us to remember these words of the Mahatma on this auspicious day when for the first time India's flag will find recognition amongst the nations of the World.

Thus the question of a national flag was once more brought to the fore. At the Bezwada Session of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi requested Sri Bankaitiya to design a flag and though a flag of red and green representing Hindus and Mohamedans with a Charkha superimposed, (the idea of the Charkha having been first suggested by Lala Hansraj) was designed it was too late to pass it at that session, so it was passed at the next session a year later. But soon to this was added white to represent the minorities.

In 1931 owing to the conflicting claims of other religions in the flag, the Bombay session of the Congress passed the following resolution :

" The flag shall be three coloured, horizontally arranged as before, but the colours shall be saffron white and green in the order stated here from top to bottom, with the spinning wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe it being understood that the colours have no communal significance but the saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white peace and truth, green shall represent faith and chivalry and the spinning wheel the hope of the masses. The proportion of the flag will be to fly to hoist as three is to two."

It is too recent history and unnecessary to do any thing but mention the two heroic struggles which forced the hands of the British, the struggle of the '42 movement and the conception of the I.N.A. and its invasion of India, both struggles being fought under this banner.

The Symbol of the Charkha

Today at the dawn of a new era, with the morning twilight still lingering, with thick veils of mist covering the sun of freedom the national flag is once more being modified. As a result the charkha or spinning wheel has given place to the chakra, the wheel or discus. The design has been taken from the base of the Asokan Pillar where Chakras with running deer in between forms the motive. It is a change whose symbol should be clearly understood. Western artists and art critics have been struck by the absolute beauty of old Indian sculpture and painting, there being a sense of inevitability about it. The reason is that the Indian artists used symbols for their artistic motives, which have attained reality in the consciousness of spiritual seekers. The motive of the Asokan pillar from which the Chakra is taken is certainly not the raj chakra or imperial chakra of Asoka, as explained by some, against which Mahatma Gandhi has so rightly protested. (India is not coming out of the British empire to form any empire of her own, for the very idea of empire is hateful to any true lover of freedom.)

The Chakra of the Asokan pillar might therefore be taken as the Dharma Chakra (the wheel of Law) of Buddhism or it might be taken as a symbol of the sun, here the sun of the enlightened mind. In any case the motive of the running deer is the symbol of the human soul seeking enlightenment. The deer is perhaps the most perfect symbol of the soul, being the most sensitive of animals. The explanation of western art critics that the deer stands for the deer

park in which Buddha gave his first sermon is extremely blunt and certainly does not explain the dynanism in the form of the deer. Actually the idea of the hind as the human soul, lost and pining, in the world till the stag shows it the way to that other country which is its true home and to which the deer flies so fast that its hoofs are not visible on the ground, is given in one of the Buddhist mystic songs included in the Caryapadas. In fact taking the Chakra from the artistic motive of the Asokan Pillar without the running deers on either side leaves the idea incomplete and the oblong white strip in the flag where the Chakra is lost and insignificant seems to protest against the tearing away of the Chakra from its context.

But the Buddhists adopted the symbol of the Chakra from the Vedas where the sun as the energising Shakti (power) of the Universe is eulogised. It is these hymns of the Rigveda addressed to the sun with their mystic symbolism which has inspired ancient Indian art, both that of the Hindu temples and the Buddhist stupas and pillars. Sometimes the symbolism of the sun with all its wealth of detail, its chariot and horses, is fully portrayed as in the artistic planning of the Kunarak temple, but more often as in the Buddhist freizes the Chakra or wheel of the Chariot (resembling the sun's disc and rays) took the place of the chariot of the sun. The conception of the *ratha* too came from the chariot of the sun, so wonderfully described in the Rig Vedic hymns. In Buddhist pictorial art therefore the Chakra or wheel of the sun sometimes represented the wheel of law and sometimes the sun of the enlightened mind. When it represented the dharma-chakra it represented the dynamic power of dharma to enlighten the human soul. The prayer-wheel used by the Buddhists had the same significance, only here it is the power of prayer which is represented.

The Sudarshan Chakra too is in the form of the central disc and rays of the sun. The Sudarshan Chakra represents the Shakti or power of enlightenment which kills ignorance and the strife born of ignorance. Krishna who is here the ultimate Reality (as all gods and goddesses in Hinduism are regarded at the time of Worship) by his Sudarshan Chakra or power of enlightenment kills ignorance and therefore also the strife of the dualities engendered by the sense of duality, so that the soul realises itself in the one Reality.

The Chakra has still one more usage in spiritual realisation. For those who could not practise the higher austerities of the Vedic religion nor reach the enlightened mind of Buddhism it was allowed

by both Vedic Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism to practise that natural religion which is *Sahaj* or *Sahajata* to man, embodied in the *Dehatattva* or Yogic practices connected with the regulation of vital or *pranic* forces and the blood and seminal flow in the body so as to master the centres of cosmic power (represented as Chakras) within the human body. The *Sat-Chakra Bheda* of the Tantras forms the basis of this form of Yoga. It might interest Mahatma Gandhi to know that the mystic sadhan of Kabir and the Muslim Pirs whose tombs are scattered all over India was based on this natural religion connected with the mastery of the six Chakras of cosmic power situated in the body. This mastery brought release from the sense of duality and identified the Sadhaka's consciousness with that *ananda* or Bliss which was one of the triple aspects of the ultimate in the form of *Sat-Chit-Ananda*.

Thus the Chakra has deep significance for the masses who are all devotees of such Mussulman Pirs or Hindu Sadhakas both of whom having acquired supernatural power could help the masses in their daily lives and enable them to attain a sense of *ananda* which they could communicate to their disciples. It is interesting to note that these Mussalmans and Hindu Sadhakas usually came from humble spheres of life and lowly castes as did Kabir himself. In the practice of this natural religion there was little difference between the Hindus and the Musulmans. In Bengali works written by Mussulman Sadhakas of this school we see that sometimes terms from Islamic religion signify the channels of vital forces or the seats of vital power in the body, sometimes these are inter-mixed with Hindu terminology. In fact if there was anything that cemented the friendship of the Hindu and Mussulman masses it was the common reverence for such Hindu and Mussulman Fakirs and holy men. In Bengal the offering of *sinni* or food offering at the tombs of Pirs by the Hindus when supernatural aid is required or out of pure reverence for these Pirs is a common practice. Again the participation of the Mussulmans in the village dramas, which usually portaryed the stories of gods and goddesses or were taken from the Indian epics, the writing of verses in honour of Hindu deities by Mussulman poets the most famous being a Ganga Stotra or eulogy of the Ganges, by a Mussulman poet, shows how good were the relations and how deep the understanding between the Hindu and the Mussulman masses and all because of the influence of the holy men of both communities practising the same natural religion in which the Chakra formed such an important

part. What better symbol than the Chakra could Mahatma Gandhi get to represent both the masses of India and their deep spiritual Unity ? In fact we consider that it was one of those inspired thoughts which come to minds which must give the lead to great masses of men which made Mahatma Gandhi take the spinning wheel as the symbol of the hope of the masses and again say when the change was made that he did not mind as long as the wheel was there. No greater or more all-comprehensive symbol could have been chosen for India, chosen, though it seems from accident and for reasons of art. But it is one of those accidents which proves the truth of the great Shakespearean thought " There is a divinity that shapes our ends rough hewn then as we will." Our only regret is that this powerful and significant symbol has been allotted an absolutely insignificant position in the flag, the circle being quite out of place in the oblong strip of cloth and requiring if kept there at all to be balanced on both sides by some other object as in the case of the freize of the Asokan pillar, the artist has done with the running deer. Otherwise the three colours being retained either the whole geometrical arrangement has to be changed to give power and significance to the symbol or the white or saffron portion being doubled and put at the top should contain the Chakra and the other two colours form narrower strips below. Another defect which has crept in for want of clear understanding of the symbol is the colouring. Originating as the Charkha did from the wheel of the chariot of the sun, or the sun's disc and its rays and also standing as it does for the light of the enlightened mind dark blue can never be used for it. The ground work of the circle (nor merely the circumference) being the Mandala should be dark blue but the rays and the central disc from which the rays originate must be golden or bright yellow. This colouring would also attract the eye to the Chakra.

It is our hope that the Constituent Assembly will think over these points. As a matter of fact the disproportionate smallness of the Chakra in the flag and the bareness of the oblong strip of white cloth which does not at all form a suitable frame for the Chakra as it did in the case of the oblong Charkha is apparent to all and is causing universal disappointment with the flag. We hope too that Mahatma Gandhi will consider the matter and see that more prominence and a better setting is given to the Chakra which through the Charkha or spinning wheel he has made into a living symbol for the masses of India and their struggle for freedom.

THE BASIS OF WORLD UNDERSTANDING

PROF. WILLIAM STUART NELSON

[Professor William Stuart Nelson, of Howard University, D. C., delivered three lectures on "The Basis of World Understanding" at the Calcutta University in August, 1947, at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate. These lectures, much appreciated by our scholars, will be published in books form. We give below a short summary as prepared by Professor Nelson at our special request.]

As Rabindranath Tagore wrote in one of his songs, " The world is delirious with hatred." In Europe, North and South America, and the East there are raging struggles of varying intensities but all frought with the most serious possibilities. While ideological differences are not in themselves an evil, there are many evil fruits from the spirit in which men differ and the instruments they use to establish their views and disestablish views that are different from their own.

The approach to the problem must combine the spirit and methods of science, religion, and philosophy. Facts are not sufficient. Religion which supposes divine sanction to irreligious biases and is built upon devotion to petty ends is a menace to peace. Religion as enlightened loyalty to the supreme values of the universe can prove a great aid to understanding. The objectivity and comprehensiveness of the philosophic approach are indispensable.

The causes of world conflict lie in part in man's nature described by Reinhold Niebuhr as pride born of anxiety, which is a concomitant of freedom. Men as individuals and as groups are also what they are by virtue of their geographical locations and the effects upon them of climate, atmosphere, land contours and other similar factors. Geography is a strong determinant as to the nature of a state and its people. Collective human evils take the forms of economic exploitation, nationalism, and social arrogance.

Basic approaches to world understanding include not only a recognition of the evil tendencies in men but of their noble qualities. To act toward men on the assumption that there is something basically good in them is to evoke goodness. The difference between men is due largely to the difference in the way they are treated by other

men. A canvass of the lives of the people will reveal many noble qualities. There are great masses whose graves are unmarked or whose ashes have gone unnoticed down to join the seas but whose lives have been won long sacrifice for their parents or children or neighbours. One can find an impressive number of political leaders who, amid calumny and renunciation, have borne the burden of winning the freedom of their people.

A second step toward world understanding is for men not only to believe in world but *one people*. There is a vast difference between parts of a world being proximate in space and time, and a family of mankind. One world by its very oneness can lend to evils which were inconceivable in the age when worlds were weeks and months and years apart. Our proximity is an invitation to destruction. There is great urgency, therefore, in the call for the concept of one people, one family, of the nations and races and religions of mankind gathered into one spiritual community.

The concept of one people is grounded in the facts of our natures and our lives. Physically men are more alike than different. There is a strong indication that the mental and emotional character of all men is as common as their physical character. The fundamentals remain the same in spite of superficial differences. The mother in Bengal suffers the same pain at the loss of her child as the mother in New York, or Sydney or Moscow. In the presence of birth and death, sickness and health, youth and old age, triumphs and defeats we experience feelings that differ in no fundamental way. This is due in large part because all men draw their sustenance from the same Mother earth.

It is significant that the great religions of the world have insisted upon man's oneness in spite of the fact that their followers have often proved the most bitter dividers of mankind.

A basic step in the direction of world understanding is a belief in the plurality of values or the many-sidedness of the good. This means the elimination or reduction of religious, cultural, and racial dogmatism. Men must see the universal truths in different religions. The arrogance which teaches that any one religion is the exclusive possessor of all truth is no friend to human understanding. Men need to emphasize the universal elements in the great religions and de-emphasize their peculiarities. It is found, for example, that the concept of love is preached by all great living religions. This should prove a uniting ground.

It is also important to recognize the values in the differences in religions. Each religion must work out the best means of communicating and realizing in life the ideals of that religion. These means will differ from religion to religion.

We must also give up cultural dogmatism. Anthropologists are coming increasingly to the view that one culture cannot arbitrarily be called a greater culture than any other. If there seem to be differences in the cultures of the East and the West, they must not be considered as basic and eternal differences. The same differences can always be found within each culture. More and more cultural differences will become personal rather than national or racial. Differences in taste are to be encouraged as this makes for enrichment and not necessarily disagreement. There is also no sound ground for racial dogmatism. Racial antagonism is relatively young historically. It does exist in children until children are taught it. That the races of mankind are really one people is demonstrated by their physical likenesses. Intelligence is also distributed across all races.

Practical steps in the direction of world understanding must include the ending of all political, economic, and racial imperialisms. No nation has the moral right to rule over the destinies of other peoples and exploit their lands. Imperialism not only divides the subject people from the subjugator but divides subject peoples among themselves. It also makes for a transvaluation of values. Imperialist nations invent moral codes to justify their imperialist designs and acts.

Economic imperialism may be more subtle but also carries grave dangers and must be guarded against especially by a people recently freed.

The outlawry of war is very important to the attainment of world understanding. Wars seem inevitably to lead to more wars. Even victorious allies find it difficult and sometimes impossible to cooperate after a war, while defeated nations are driven to a solidarity which often presages a later war of revenge. War frequently divides also a victor nation against itself. It encourages class war within a people and tends to break down moral restraints and to give rise to lawlessness.

Another instrument for promoting world understanding is education. One of the reasons dominant people remain dominant is because they have not been taught the implications of their domination. This is so because their rulers have protected them against education

in international friendship. The effort to give education an international emphasis has met with great opposition and many failures. Men are still stumbling blindly into hatreds and conflicts.

The importance of education to freedom is reflected in the denial of education to colonial people by imperialist powers. A study of education in India and Africa bears this out strikingly. Every effort must be made, therefore, to get education to colonial people and to educate the masses of those who have recently become free. No expenditure of funds will prove more profitable than this.

The difficulties men face in achieving world understanding is strikingly illustrated by the problem of race relations in America. This is regarded as America's number 1 problem and number 1 failure. It is due to the determination of a great number of white Americans, principally but not exclusively in the southern states, that Negroes shall never attain a position of equality with them. This determination has resulted in a separation of the two races or segregation especially in the southern states. The system of separation has led to gross educational, political, economic, and social discriminations against Negroes. Only approximately one fourth of the money spent on the average American child is spent on the Negro child in the the South. Negroes in southern states are almost totally denied the right to vote. Except in government, and often there also, Negroes are relegated to the poorest paid positions. Even before the courts, they cannot expect justice in the South.

A careful study of the situation reveals that the basic causes of it are not racial. They are found in a carry over from the old slave regime which many whites desire to perpetuate in another form; in fear of political, economic, and cultural competition from Negroes; in the lack of support which Negroes receive from other nations; in the fact that they still suffer from a cultural lag.

In spite of the difficulties from which Negroes suffer they have made astounding progress. In 83 years their illiteracy has been reduced from about 90 per cent to 10 per cent; in 1945 there were 65,000 Negro students in colleges with 5,000 receiving the A.B. and B.S. degrees—this out of a total Negro population of 13 millions. There are 4,000 Negro doctors, 1,000 lawyers, 65,000 teachers, 2,000 college and university presidents and professors, and 25,000 clergymen. In these professions and in music, drama, and literature numerous Negroes have achieved eminence. They have more than 30,000 businesses including 11 banks and many insurance companies.

Two Negroes are now members of the United States Congress and 27 of state legislatures. They publish between 300 and 400 newspapers, magazines and bulletins.

A basic change for good in the relations of Negroes and whites is possible in three directions: (1) a radical change toward Negroes of some major section of American society as government, the church, or labor. Greatest hope is placed in labor forces; (2) a program of non-violent non-co-operation by Negroes; (3) the migration of several million Negroes from the southern to the northern states where they can expect larger opportunities to fulfil their destiny as an integral part of the American people.

THE FUTURE OF SANSKRIT STUDIES

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., P.R.S.

INDIA is going to be independent. At long last she has been able to shake off the yoke of foreign domination that kept her in thraldom for more than a century and a half and made her an appanage of a foreign power. But this long-waited-for independence must be so in the widest sense of the term. It should not be merely political and economic independence but cultural independence as well. For, freedom in the political and economic sphere, important as it is from the materialistic standpoint, can but satisfy the outer hankerings of the human soul. The inner satisfaction can be had from a true inheritance of one's national culture, by imbibing the lesson preached by the builders of a nation's civilization with untiring zeal. This way alone can the members of a great society attain their full stature and tread before the world with glory and pride born of a proper appreciation of the priceless gifts of the civilization handed down to them. An alien civilization, however superior it might be, cannot but demoralise a society and stunt its cultural growth. We do not suggest that English culture and civilization that have up till now been studied and imbibed sedulously by our intelligentsia through the medium of the English language, should be completely banned. Far from that, India has gained not a little by her contact—political and cultural, with England. She has been trained in modern scientific outlook. She has been awakened to the importance of industrial development for the preservation of her teeming millions. She has outgrown the prejudice and fear that bedimmed her normal scientific vision. English literature has infused a new vitality into the provincial literatures of India, specially of Bengal, and has inspired talented men of letters to experiment in newer forms of art and thus expand and enrich their own literatures. All this would not have been possible had England remained ever a stranger to our ancient land. But our admiration for English literature and culture should not be parochial. We need not be blind to the valuable gifts that our own cultural heritage has to offer us. We can be an admirer of England and what she stands for without being a derogator of Indian culture that has been handed down through

ages through the medium of that wonderful vehicle of expression ever devised by humankind—*viz.*, Sanskrit language.

For the last decade or two, we have been witnessing a steady decline in the pursuit and progress of Sanskritic studies in India, especially in our native land of Bengal. Our educated men have thought little of the consequences that this neglect of the ancient literature of India and what it embodies would entail. Our educationists have encouraged the studies of Bengali language and literature with an admirable zeal and properly so. But the wiser course would have been to lay more stress on the study of Sanskrit language and literature along with the introduction of higher studies in Bengali. There was instead a public disapproval of the utility of Sanskritic studies by prominent educationists, as a result of which Sanskrit as a course of study is going to be gradually dislodged from the University curriculum even from the earliest stages.

It is a great pity that our educationists should have to be reminded of the importance of Sanskrit learning for a proper understanding of our provincial literature, at least at its earlier stages. The Buddhists *Caryapadas*, the lyrics of Vidyapati and Candidasa, the devotional and mystic songs of the mediaeval Vaishnava poets and apostles and such abstruse theological works as the *Caitanyacaritamrita* are scarcely understandable to those who have not a proper grounding in Sanskrit culture in all its varied aspects. We should not forget the obvious fact that a literature, worth the name, does not consist merely of *belles lettres*, short stories and novels and poems. They constitute only a limited section thereof. A literature that cannot show anything beyond these lighter forms of art, appealing only to the affective faculties of our mind must be pronounced as ill-developed and lopsided. A nation cannot live by emotion alone. Emotional existence, if it be divorced from intellectual existence, can only lead to abnormalities of every sort. And this is what is going to happen in the case of Bengali literature. We have our Rabindranath and Saratchandra. But they have developed pre-eminently the emotional aspect of our literature, possessed of the rarest gift of genius as they are. We have managed to forget Bankimchandra, not because his works deserve this oblivion, but because his writings embody a happy blending of both the emotional and rational elements, without sacrificing the latter at the altar of the former. We have become too much easy-going to exercise our rational faculties to the extent sufficient to render Bankimchandra's

writings appreciable to us. Intellectually we have become lotos-eaters. And this intellectual *ennui*, so much noticeable now-a-days in the reading public of our land, can be accounted for by the unhealthy development of emotional literature pandering only to our affective faculties to the exclusion of the ratiocinative ones. We shirk philosophy instinctively. Spiritual texts have no appeal for us. We have learnt to spurn logic as a course of intellectual discipline. We are living on cheap sentimental jargons only. Is not all this abnormal? And herein lies the supreme importance and need of Sanskrit scholarship. Sanskrit literature is a literature in the fullest connotation of the term. It is neither solely emotional nor exclusively intellectual. We have to keep both our affective and ratiocinative faculties alert if we are to have a full acquisition of Sanskrit scholarship. A renascence of Sanskrit learning at this stage alongside of the expanding study of Bengali culture would exert a wholesome influence on the present-day literary activities by introducing that muchneeded intellectual leaven into our emotional outpourings. It would open up new avenues of scholarship in the field of our provincial culture. Our literature would acquire that manliness, which is now so much lacking.

It would seem certainly strange to a thinking mind that we, the inheritors of such a glorious and ancient culture should have to be reminded of its value, by scholars of foreign lands. It is the European scholars who have rediscovered Sanskrit culture and civilization in all its varied aspects at least for the Indian masses. They have given the lead, we have chosen to follow. But that spirit of discovery which goaded on European savants to wander night and day through broadways and alleys labyrinthine in the unknown continent of Indian civilization, is gradually waning. It is up to us now to reinterpret the discoveries of the pioneers, to view the multi-faceted structure of our ancient culture from all possible aspects. To understand one's past heritage is to understand one's own self. If we are to live a fuller existence, and if we have the least inquisitiveness to understand our national, religious and social heridity, we must have to study the history of Indian civilization from the earliest times to its latest phase. We must learn to respect the thoughts of the ancient seers, philosophers and thinkers of this great sub-continent who tried to see things with a breadth and liberality and boldness of vision that has been and would ever remain to be a wonder of the world. While in this twentieth century, boasting of a rich civiliza-

tion as we do, we are still thinking in terms of our respective provinces, and accentuating the spirit of disintegration—culturally and politically, thus failing to knit the provincial and racial units of this Indian sub-continent into one harmonious cultural and political whole, it is reassuring to meditate over the achievements of our hoary ancestors who imbibed a common spirit among the millions of inhabitants of this far-flung territory, gave them a common culture and a common nationality, from the foot of the Himalayas to the tip of the Cape in the south. And this common cultural, spiritual and political outlook, that is well-nigh an impossibility now-a-days, was possible because one common language—Sanskrit, was the vehicle of all their thoughts. That community of expression was at the root of that expansive culture spreading over the length and breadth of this huge peninsula. And if even now we can pride ourselves of being Indians, of being members of a common nationality, it is because the reminiscences of that wonderful cultural heritage achieved by Sanskrit language still persists in our veins. Would it be wise to scrap that synthesis and unity and the language that had begotten them, when we are striving to unify once more our motherland, disintegrated politically and culturally under the baneful influence of an unsympathetic foreign demination lasting over centuries? Should we not mark this hour of our deliverance by making an all out effort to revive that wonderful language and the heritage handed down through it through ages? Sanskrit language and culture stand for that essential unity of India, which cannot be destroyed even by the vilest machinations of external hostile agencies. A revival of Sanskrit learning would restore that lost harmony in our national life buzzing with the jarring notes of discordant units. It would bring about a renascence in decadent provincial cultures seething with unedifying emotions and restore to them that intellectual and spiritual fervour, the lack of which is responsible for our stunted cultural growth. We should remember with respect that a civilization and culture that gave birth to a Buddha, a Sankara, a Ramanuja, a Chaitanya and a Vivekananda—to name only a chosen few, is certainly worth preserving. Irreverence can only bespeak our own meanness.

It is worth recalling here the observations of Swami Vivekananda on the need and importance of Sanskrit culture and lanaguage: "..... Therefore the ideas must be taught in language of the people; at the same time, Sanskrit education must go on along with it, because the very sound of Sanskrit words gives a prestige and a power

and a strength to the race. The attempts of the great Ramanuja and of Chaitanya and of Kabir to raise the lower classes of India show that marvellous results were attained during the lifetime of those great prophets; yet later failures have to be explained, and cause shown why the effect of their teaching stopped almost within a century of the passing away of the great Masters. The secret is here. They raised the lower classes; they had all the wish that these should come up, but they did not apply their energies to the spreading of the Sanskrit language among the masses. Even the great Buddha made one false step when he stopped the Sanskrit language from being studied by the masses. He wanted rapid and immediate results, and translated and preached in the language of the day, Pali ".....teach the masses in the vernaculars, give them ideas. They will get information, but something more is necessary; give them culture. Until you give them that, there can be no permanence in the raised condition of the masses. There would be another caste created, having the advantage of the Sanskrit language, which will quickly get above the rest and rule them all the same. The only safety, I tell you, men who belong to the lower castes, the only way to raise your condition, is to study Sanskrit and this fighting and writing and frothing against the higher castes is in vain, it does no good, and it creates fight and quarrel, and this race unfortunately already divided is going to be divided more and more. The only way to bring about the levelling of caste is to appropriate the culture, the education, which is the strength of the higher castes. That done, you have what you want....." —*The Future of India.*

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CULTURE CONFLICT

(In the light of Psychology of Insanity)*

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WHEN a person is described as a man of culture it is meant that he is possessed of *good* culture, just as when we say that he is a man of character we mean that he is of good character. But in anthropology the word culture is used in a wide and neutral sense without any suggestion of valuation—priase or reproach. It stands for a group of interconnected and persistent traits, habits and attitudes found in a class of human beings of a particular place and time. The cultural traits of a particular group of people become conspicuous when they are compared and contrasted with those of groups occupying other places and times. Anthropologists are thus able to discover and classify the distinctive tendencies and habits of different classes of men in respect of food, dress, shelter, utensils, tools, weapons, agriculture, industry, language, art, architecture, mythology, beliefs, religious ceremonies, organizations of family, society and government, moral codes and ideologies. It is difficult to give an exhaustive list of what culture denotes. But roughly speaking, culture includes all that man has developed and acquired over and above his animal heritage.

Culture is *primarily* the character of a society, not of the individual. The individual born in a society only inherits and continues its culture. But a few individuals possessing extraordinary talents and initiative may develop new cultural traits and tendencies which may even change those of the society. But such phenomena are very rare, though they are very important since they represent critical moments in the life of society when revolutionary changes take place in religion, politics and other spheres.

When individuals or societies possessing different cultures are brought together by migration, trade, invasion or any other cause there is occasion for the contact of two cultures. Contact of cultures

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does not necessarily lead to conflict. When the representatives of two different cultures have mutual respect or even indifference no conflict can arise. Such relations are possible only when the two parties are on equal footing or when the one does not try to challenge or overpower the other. Conflict arises when, for example, people of a different culture invade and conquer another and thrust their own culture upon the conquered, or when one religion, even without any political conquest, tries to replace another, or when invention of superior mechanical devices challenges antiquated methods of production, transport, etc., or when the newly discovered truths challenge erroneous beliefs and habits of life based thereon. There may be other similar causes for conflict of cultures. Moreover, it is not necessary that the infliction of a new culture should always come from outside. Radical reformers of a society or country may try from within to change the material, intellectual or spiritual culture of their own people by persuasion, legislation and even coercion, as has happened for example, in Turkey and Russia, in respect of material as well as spiritual culture. In some cases, again, there may be no infliction at all. The pressure of changed conditions may tempt or force people to give up existing habits in respect of food, dress, building, methods of warfare, transport, etc., for more advantageous ones. As recent examples of such phenomena may be cited the many changes that have taken place in India owing to the last war. Shorts and trousers and European costume in general have been replacing indigenous dresses which require more cloth and are less suited to active life; wheat, maize and gram and other available cereals have been partly replacing rice even in localities where rice was used to be the only staple food.

Material culture can change more easily than non-material culture. The dress of a country, for example, may be changed more easily than its beliefs, outlook and attitudes. In cases of conflicts, if there is coercion the coerced people may change their external behaviour but not so easily their minds. On the contrary, the overpowered would usually try to *compensate* for their external defeat by developing a mental resistance against the encroaching culture and sticking mentally more tenaciously to the old culture. Repression of one culture by another may thus manifest all the morbid phenomena of individual psychology. *Dissociation, distortion, projection, rationalization, delusion, inversion, substitution, regression* and similar phenomena of an abnormal mind can appear, in different degrees,

in a society, whose culture is repressed. In extreme cases there may be *social insanity* if such a term is allowed, in analogy with individual insanity, for expressing the state of extreme maladjustment obtaining in a group of individuals who suffer from *phobias*, *fantasies*, *delusions*, utter irresonsibility and irrationality in its behaviour with a rival group—all recognized symptoms of insanity—which are found, for example, in a society as a whole when a *war* or a *communal riot* breaks out.

India, like some other countries, has witnessed successive conflicts of cultures in course of its history. Clashes between the cultures of the Aryans and the non-Aryans, the Islamic and the non-Islamic, the European and the Indian may be mentioned as major examples. The social history of India is, therefore, replete with the phenomena of culture conflicts. I shall present below a very brief account of some of these in the light of abnormal psychology just to show the interesting resemblance they bear to some of the phenomena of individual insanity. I shall show also the possibility of easing culture conflicts by psychological methods.

Dissociation of personality which, in its extreme form, characterizes schizophrenia can be found, in different degrees and forms, in some phenomena resulting from cultural conflicts. A defeated or weaker group sometimes try to *withdraw* from reality and retire into an inner life within its own group or coterie where the threatened traits of culture are dissociated and zealously preserved in isolation. The group limits its dealings with the rival group in matters regarding which there is little or no conflict. But sometimes even the dominating group may take to such defensive mechanism of withdrawal and dissociation out of fear for contamination by, what it regards as, an inferior culture. Untouchability, colour-prejudice, *purdah*, *Borqa*, restriction of dining, marrying and other forms of social intercourse to one's own class may be cited as ordinary examples of such withdrawal. Isolation develops sometimes to such a degree that certain rituals, and even the taking of food, are not allowed within the visibility of certain classes, the very appearance of whom becomes tabooed as inauspicious. If circumstances do not permit such isolation some *substitutes* are devised. For example, if compelled to dine together in the same hall or yard, care is taken to avoid sitting in the same geometrical line with the undesirables or to draw a dividing line on the earth with the finger-nails or with drops of water and create thus the fantasy of virtual isolation. Such phenomena

though fast disappearing, can still be observed in India among some people who have not yet adjusted themselves to changed circumstances.

The fear of contamination sometimes developes into *obsessions* and *phobias* (resembling *misophobia*) in some individuals of the *schizoid* group. They are found, therefore, to avoid contact even with paths, places, water tanks, and other things used by people outside their group and such avoidance reaction becomes conditioned to even a distant thing by a long chain of intermediate links ultimately connected with the impure. Repeated washing and bathing, resembling act of *compulsion neuroses* or *manias*, are adopted as a literal process of *catharsis* to create the feeling of washing away the defilement produced by direct and indirect contact.

The emotions of hatred and disgust towards representatives of the rival culture become sometimes transferred to their customs and to the very classes of things used by them or specially liked by them, or otherwise associated with them. They gradually generate certain group attitudes and *stereotypes* symbolized by words like, 'foreign,' 'alien,' 'barbarian,' 'kafir,' 'mlechcha,' 'semitic,' 'slavish,' 'coloured,' 'fascist,' 'nazi,' etc. which are charged with intense emotions of hatred and disgust. Food, dress, architecture, language, etc. of the opposite group come to be tabooed in this way. The Hindu attitude towards beards (with shaved moustaches), *lungis* and *pyjamas* (in some provinces), fez caps, fowl (in some provinces), *badnas* (*i.e.* water pots with nozzles), the *halāl* (or partial decapitation) method of butchering animals would only remind one of the muslim attitude towards a head with a tuft of hair (shikha), dhotis (in some provinces), pigs, cow-dung, temples, the *jhatka* (or complete decapitation) method of slaughtering animals.

But though differences in religion account for some differences in culture, by far the greater part of cutural differences are due to non-religious sources. Religion is only a small fraction, as we have seen, of the large mass of traits that compose a particular culture. Many of the differences are based on local customs of mostly unknown origin. An orthodox Hindu Bengali, for example, has a strong prejudice against *lungi* dress, onion, marriage with a person within the seventh generation of the mother's side, etc. which are very normal for even an orthodox Brahmin of South India, whereas the latter has a strong repugnance against the former's habit of taking fish and meat. A Bengali Hindu may not even touch fowl but a Punjabi Hindu may even eat it. A Punjabi muslim is shocked to see a Bengali

Muslim wearing *dhoti*, using the Bengali script, and taking rice soaked in thin soup or dal by dipping all the fingers through which a part of the stuff falls back to the plate to be taken up again (a process which a Punjabi muslim once described to the author with a feeling of great disgust). But the former would be shocked to see the latter tearing his beard with both hands, using water very sparingly for personal hygiene, not bathing regularly every day and so on. Local cultural traits and the local dialect, in particular, can unite the followers of different faiths to such an extent that one would feel a greater kinship with his village neighbour of a different faith than a member of the same faith coming from a distant place. The Assamese muslim is more akin to the Hindu of his own village than to his co-religionist of Madras or the Punjab or China, in point of language, racial traits, dress, food, customs and a large number of things *which far outweigh the one point of similarity called religion.*

Withdrawal, isolation and exclusiveness which characterize the initial stage of the conflict of cultures gradually break down when two rival groups are compelled by circumstances to live together and make mutual adjustments. At this stage of conflict there may be partial relaxation of exclusiveness with the acceptance of some irresistible elements of alien culture and partial maintenance of the old culture. Such compromise may be the result of rational thinking and efforts for harmony and reconciliation by those powerful members of the group called social reformers who can appeal to the sense of *human unity* and generate friendly emotions strong enough to break down the resistance of the first stage of negativism. But in most cases adjustment comes by very gradual and imperceptible changes of habit by the mechanical pressure of circumstance which overpower the social censor or partially desensitize it.

So long as harmony has not been brought about by conscious efforts or by slow changes the conflict between the newly accepted elements of culture may present logical conflict with the incompatible elements of the previous culture still adhered to. Such conflict is often overcome by methods which closely resemble the mechanisms of *logic tight compartments* and *rationalisation* discussed in abnormal psychology.

There are numberless instances of such phenomena too in modern Indian life. We can cite here a few of them. There are many Hindus who would take any amount of *aqua pura* poured in bottles of medicines by untouchables, may even take a bottle of soda water

from them, but would not take a glass of plain water touched by them. If the anomaly is pointed out they would perhaps rationalize and defend themselves by saying, 'A sick man need not observe a custom' or 'medicines are exceptions.' There are many Indians who would ignore all scruples about caste and food in an English party or on a journey but at home or in a communal dinner would not even sit in the same row with a man of a different caste. They would defend their conduct by some rationalization like 'Parties and journeys are exceptions.' Many Hindus in the South have accepted Christianity, which is meant for the church, and yet retained caste-distinctions which are kept up as affairs outside the jurisdiction of the church. In some north Indian provinces food cooked in butter, *e.g. puris*, (*Pakki rasoi*) can be taken from some castes whose touch will defile other kinds of cooked food like *chapati*, rice and *dal* (Kachchi rasoi). Vegetables cooked without or with salt are similarly segregated in two logic-tight compartments. In general, an Indian with European education and with faultless external imitation of European culture is mostly found to have retained deep-rooted under currents of indigenous culture. Beneath the English hat there is perhaps a tuft of hair tightly brushed back, beneath the neck-tie the sacred thread or a necklace or a cord suspending a few amulets, beneath the sleeves perhaps a wristlet or armlet containing another charm. And perhaps an unmistakable communal symbol will also be found on the person. But his body is only a reflection of his mind in which there is a top layer of European ideas gathered in schools and colleges and beneath it thick strata of ideas resembling those of his great grand mother. He has imitated a lot but assimilated very little and the imitations are not logically linked up with the pre-existing ideas. European ideas and indigenous ones are locked up in two *logic-tight compartments*.

The recent political rivalry between the Hindus and Muslims of India has rudely disturbed the process of mutual adjustment which had been gradually reconciling the two religious traditions. New conflicts have given rise to some fresh abnormal phenomena. The chief among these is what resembles *regression* (or the tendency to go back to childhood to enjoy its advantages) as found in an abnormal individual. For achieving political advantages, some leaders of both communities are reviving and strengthening certain incompatible communal attitudes which were long overgrown and left behind. Thus typical communal dresses, customs and practices

are being resorted to even by Europeanized members though they may not believe in them. The communities are, again, driven back to political puerility under threats of insecurity of the adult life of independence. They are being made to wish back the secure life of dependence under the maternal care of the British government.

Again mutual suspicion and the ill-repressed desire to crush the rival community has led each community to *project* such motives on the adversary and therefore each suffers under the constant *delusion* of attack by the enemy and like a patient suffering from persecuting paranoia, it takes fright at the slightest movement of the rival and suspects it as a move for establishing Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj.

Sometimes again this panic alternates with opposite kinds of delusions with grandiose ideas. The leaders or members of the rival communities then begin to draw exaggerated pictures of their own st ength and superiority, and threaten to crush the enemy and steep the country in bloodshed. It is so like patients suffering from megalomania.

Space does not permit the citation of many other similar interesting abnormal phenomena that can be observed in modern Indian life. Such phenomena can also be found in many other countries. I shall bring the paper to a close with a brief suggestion about the solution of these problems in the light of psycho-therapy. There are four chief psychological methods for the treatment of *individuals* suffering from mental diseases, namely suggestion, catharsis, desensitization and re-education. These represent the contributions of Freud, Jung and other psychiatrists whose efforts can be taken to supplement one another. It is possible to apply these methods also for the treatment of a society or country suffering from conflicts of culture, provided there are social workers and leaders possessing the qualities required of a successful mental physician, namely insight, sympathetic understanding, practical tact, and a personality that can inspire trust.

The chief work of *suggestion* here would be re-assurance and encouragement given to the people, through all sources of propaganda or information, to make them believe that *social conflicts can be cured.* Without creating such confidence the desperation which undermines patience and prompts precipitate actions cannot be stopped. The method of *catharsis*, in social therapy, would consist in bringing before the mind of the people the causes that lie at the root of conflict and maladjustment and in making them face the unavoidable situa-

tions with a realistic attitude. For this purpose it is necessary to impart to the people of India, for example, the knowledge of (1) the history of the different cultures which have mingled together and contributed to the different traits, (2) the origins and intermixture of the different races composing the Indian population, (3) the distinction between the valuable and abiding elements of culture and the lower ones which hamper progress and harmony, (4) the many compromises which have been already made in this country and other countries under similar conditions, by sacrificing unessentials. Knowledge of the classics, essential scriptures and history would be useful for social workers for this purpose, in addition, of course, to Psychology.

Desensitization consists in dulling and deadening sensitiveness by making the subject think of and face repeatedly mentally the provoking or painful situations without giving rise to violent emotions. The application of this to social therapy would be, for an example, to make the Hindus think of things like the 'slaughter of cows' in different perspectives such as in the light of numberless other animals destroyed by many Hindus for food, worship and game, the literary evidences of cow slaughter by the Hindus of ancient India, etc., and make similarly the Muslims think of things like 'music before mosque' in the light of musical performances accompanying Muslim ceremonies in other countries and even in some parts of India, and so on.

By repeated showing of the causes of conflict in new lights which can allay destructive emotions, new attitudes of toleration, sympathy, etc., can be built up towards the causes of conflict, so that people can thus be made to learn to behave in new and more sensible manners in situations which used previously to provoke the undesirable emotions. This process constitutes *re-education.* What passes today in Indian press and elsewhere in the name of education of public opinion is mostly interested propaganda to dupe people into emotions and attitudes which will help the perpetuation of the position and interest of a handful of leaders even at the cost of the people. Propaganda can be so conducted that differences and conflicts may go on multiplying until the country is divided to a man. This would be the picture of social mind suffering from multiple personality. On the other hand *public education can be so re-oriented* that the valuable aspects of unity would be more and more emphasized, mutual considerations and common interests more and more deve-

loped until the country would acquire a solidarity, a unity in diversity, which is the picture of a healthy mind. The facts that the Hindu and the Muslim of India could actually live in harmony, visit each other's shrines, join in each other's festivities, donate lands and money for religious and educational institutions of each other and so on, even until recent times would show that throwing of brick-bats, stabbing by knives, abduction of women and setting of fire are not the only possible ways in which the two communities can treat each other.

However new, in name, the psychological methods of curing maladjustment may appear to be, their essential principles were known and practised in many lands. A realistic view of life in wide and dispassionate philosophical perspectives, and the *training of emotions* and the reformation of conduct in accordance with these, constituted the common formula of moral improvement in the different schools of Indian philosophy. Cultural conflicts, individual and social, cannot be removed unless these good principles are applied to social life. But it should not be forgotten that the application of the psychological methods for curing a patient depends for its success also on certain *auxiliary means* such as change of environment, healthy occupation, recreation and diversion. Similarly, mere psychological handling of social conflicts cannot succeed without wholesome changes in the material, economic, political environments, employment of the members of society in productive pursuits and diversion of surplus and pent up energy to the cultivation of higher values which make for human solidarity and satisfy the higher aspirations of man.

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THE PRESS AND THE LAW OF CONTEMPT OF COURT IN INDIA

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OF the three types of contempt of court as mentioned by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke of England, prejudicing mankind against persons concerned as litigants in a pending suit is one.[1] Chief Justice Cockburn said, "It is clear that this Court has always held that comments made on a criminal trial or other proceedings, when pending, is an offence against the administration of justice and a contempt of the authority of the Court"[2]; and "the essence of the offence," said Lord Chief Justice Alverstone, "is conduct calculated to produce, so to speak, an atmosphere of prejudice in the midst of which the proceedings must go on."[3] It is vitally important in the due administration of justice that the fountain of justice should be untainted and the flow unimpaired. And to that end it is imperative that the judges who administer justice and the jurors and witnesses who help in the same, should come to a trial with clear minds without any preconceived notions about the guilt or innocence of the accused, or about the propriety or impropriety of the proceedings. Judges in determining a case should be free from all extra-judicial influences; they must judge a case solely with reference to the facts brought before them in the process of law; they must not take into account any evidence but that which is adduced at the trial in a legal shape and form. Nothing is more likely to pervert and disturb the due course of law and justice than the fact that the judges or jurors who are to decide on a man's guilt or innocence, or upon a civil proceeding, should be induced to do so with minds into which prejudice has been instilled by the published assertions of his guilt or innocence, or propriety or impropriety of the proceeding, or by the published

1 Lord Hardwicke held, "There are three different sorts of contempt. One kind of contempt is, scandalising the court itself. There may be likewise a contempt of this court, in abusing parties who are concerned in causes here. There may be also a contempt of this court, in prejudicing mankind against persons, before the cause is heard." *Read and Huggonson*, 2 Atk. 469, 471 (Ch. 1742). For contempt by scandalising the court my article in the Calcutta Review, 1944, may be seen.

2 *Onslow's and Whalley's Case*, (1873-4) 9 Q.B. 219, 227.

3 *Rex* v. *Tibbits*, (1902) 2 K.B. 77, 88.

imputations upon the character and life of the accused. It goes without saying that discussion of pending cases outside of the court of justice has the inevitable tendency to influence the proceedings within it. And the tendency is greater when the proceedings involve trial by jury. For jurymen who are not legal experts and have no knowledge of the law of evidence are far less able to sift the truth from the confused mass of tendentious facts brought to their attention through legal and extra-legal channels. It must, however, be recognised as a great merit of our law of contempt that any interference with pending proceedings is promptly dealt with by the exercise of summary procedure.

Contempt of court of this sort may be committed by prejudicing the judges, jurors, or witnesses with reference to a cause about to be heard or in the process of hearing.

It is a counsel of wisdom that the Press should exercise the utmost caution in commenting upon a pending suit if it cannot forbear making any comment at all. A comment or discussion may appear as perfectly innocuous to an uninitiated mind, but an expert may discern in it a potential source of danger. What adds to the difficulty of the Press is that experts are not unanimous in their opinions. In *Hunt v. Clarke*[1] while the proceedings in a case, in which a person was charged with misrepresentation in connection with a business enterprise, were going on, an article was published making a very general depreciatory comment apparently directed against the defendants in the case. The article said, "Mourners over the Moldacot fiasco are likely to hear a little inside history of the business." It was not exactly a discussion of the merits of the case. The divisional court found nothing contemptuous in the statement, but the court of appeal decided otherwise. Lord Justice Cotton's observations in this case on what constitutes the principles of the law of contempt of this nature are highly significant and may well be regarded as forming part of the established principles of the law as applied in England and India inasmuch as they have been acted upon in good many cases in both these countries. His lordship said that for the exercise of jurisdiction in contempt it is not enough that there has been technically a contempt; it must be shown that there is a tendency to substantially interfere with the due administration of justice.[2] In *the Legal Remembrancer* vs. *Motilal Ghose*[3]

[1] 61 L.T. 343 (Ct. App. 1889) or 58 L.J.Q.B. 490.
[2] 61 L.T. 344.
[3] 17 C.W.N. 1253.

the Calcutta High Court applied the same principle. In deprecating recourse to summary process in a case like the one before them Chief Justice Rankins pointed out, "It is not enough that there should be a technical contempt of court: it must be shown that it was possible that the publication would substantially interfere with the due administration of justice."[1] In this case the articles, complained of, contained attacks upon the police in connection with a case under section 124-A, I.P.C. The articles alleged that the police were employing questionable means in collecting evidence against the accused, that they might frame up a false case, that the arrested persons were being subjected to harsh and severe treatment. It was also suggested that the case should be tried by a Special Tribunal, for if it was to be tried by a special magistrate the police would have it all their own way. In dismissing the application for committal all the judges agreed that nothing was remoter than that the articles could have the effect of prejudicing the judges or impairing or deterring evidence. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, C.J., cited in his support *R* v *Dolan*,[2] an Irish case, which affords an impressive illustration of the application of the doctrine of Lord Justice Cotton tempered, however, with a considerable amount of leniency. In this case the subject of the proceeding was the publication of a speech commenting upon the failure of the jury to convict in a criminal case at a time when there was the prospect of a new trial. In the opinion of one of the learned judges the tenor of the speech was such that it would have the effect of prejudicing the trial. But his lordship emphasized that despite the *prima facie* tendency of the language, no real prejudice was created and, therefore, the case did not call for an interference of the court by the exercise of summary powers. Lord Chief Justice's observation in this case is worthy of note. After digesting the facts of the case his lordship said, "What does all this amount to? a possibility upon possibility, a remote contingency upon a very remote contingency. We must look at the reality of things." With reference to this decision the Hon'ble Sir George Claus Rankin, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, remarked that the ultimate ruling in Dolan's case was somewhat more extraordinary than was called for by the facts of the case and if a publisher in India should think that he could publish similar matter without attracting the action of the court in its jurisdiction

[1] 17 C.W.N. 1286. [2] 2 I.R. 260 (1907).
[3] *Anantalal Singha* v *Alfred Henry Watson*, 58 Cal. 884, 895.

to punish for contempt he was wrong.[3] His lordship's observations on this point are an emphatic statement of the principles laid down by Cotton, L.J., and confirmed by Jenkins, C.J., and are worth quoting. Sir George said, " The Court's jurisdiction in contempt is not to be invoked unless there is real prejudice which can be regarded as a substantial interference with the due course of justice. It is not every theoretical tendency that will attract the action of the court in its very special jurisdiction. The purpose of the court's action is a practical purpose and, it is reasonably clear, on the authorities, that this court will not exercise jurisdiction upon a mere question of propriety when the tendency of the article to do harm is slight and the character and circumstances of the comment is otherwise such that it can properly be ignored."[1]

On the other hand, Lord Justice Cotton emphasized that it is not necessary to show that a judge or jury will be prejudiced; summary jurisdiction may be rightly invoked if there is a tendency to prejudice the proper trial of a case.[2] Lord Chief Justice Alverstone of England held substantially the same view in *Rex* v *Tibbits*[3] when he said, that although it would be far-fetched to conclude that the incriminated articles would influence the mind of the magistrate or the judge, they had undoubtedly the tendency to raise an atmosphere of prejudice in which the proceedings would go on.[4] His lordship affirmed, " Publications of that character have been punished over and over again as contempts of Court, where the legal proceedings pending did not involve trial by jury, and where no one would imagine that the mind of the magistrates or judges charged with the case would or could be induced thereby to swerve from the straight course."[5] Relying on *Rex* v *Tibbits* the Madras High Court convicted the editor of *Tamil Nadu* with the remarks that although the words complained of were not in the least likely to have any effect upon the mind of the trying magistrate it was impossible to say that they were not calculated to prejudice the atmosphere in which the hearing was to go on.[6] *In the matter of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal* v *Tusharkanti Ghose*[7] we find the same principle in its wider application. The Calcutta High Court in this case held that danger or absence of danger of prejudicing the judges was

1 *Ibid* pp. 895-6.
2 *Hunt* v *Clarke*, 61 L.T. 343, 344 (Ct. App. 1889).
3 1902, 2 K.B. 77. 4 *Ibid* at p. 88. 5 *Ibid* at p. 88.
6 *Sathappa Chettiar* v *Ramchandra Naidu*, 55 Mad. 262.
7 37 C.W.N. 276.

undeniably an important consideration but it was not the only consideration. And following the dictum of Bruce, J., in *Re.* : *Labouchere* : *Ex parte Columbus Co., Ltd.*,[1] it declared, " the jurisdiction of the Court exists not only to prevent mischief in the particular case but to prevent similar mischief arising in other cases."[2]

The essence of the offence, as has already been pointed out, is interference with a fair trial by prepossessing the judges, jurors or witnesses. It is, therefore, not necessary that contumelious publication must appear during the pendency of the proceedings. In fact contempt may be committed by a publication at a time when the proceedings have not actually commenced. Wills, J., said, " It is true that in very nearly all the cases which have arisen there has been a cause actually begun, so that the expression, quite natural under the circumstances, accentuates the fact, not that the case has been begun, but that it is not at an end. That is the cardinal consideration. It is possible very effectually to poison the fountain of justice before it begins to flow."[3] *In the matter of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal* v *Tusharkanti Ghose*[4] is an illustration of the application of this principle. In this case the subject-matter of the proceedings was two articles which appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* systematically criticising the judgment of the court of commissioners in the Dauglas murder case. Notwithstanding that there was nothing, on their lordships' own admission, improper or disrespectful in the language, the articles, the judges held, constituted contempt because they were published before the High Court had reviewed the decision of the commissioners. It is a matter of common knowledge that in this country capital sentences passed by the subordinate courts are subject to review by the High Court with power to confirm or set aside their decisions. Besides, the court held that the articles were published when there was the prospect of an appeal. This case has made it clear that any comment upon the judgment of a lower court involving death penalty before the High Court, as is required under the law, has considered the merits of the case is a contempt of court, provided the comment is such as is calculated to prepossess the High Court judges ; and that any criticism of the judgment of a lower court not offending against the dignity of the court made at a time when no application for appeal has been sub-

1 17 T.L.R. 578 (1901).
2 37 C.W.N. 276, 287-8.
3 *Rex* v *Parke*, (1903), 2 K.B. 432, 438.
4 37 C.W.N. 276.

mitted although the time limit for filing an appeal has not passed may savour of contempt.[1]

In relation to matters pending before the court the Press must strictly confine itself to the role of giving publicity to such news and information as are brought out in the process of law. Even in publishing such matters it must use utmost circumspection so that it does not render itself liable to an action for attempting to prejudice a party to the suit. Hunt for dramatic and sensational news may be a favourite pursuit with many an editor. But that newspapermen should extend their search for exciting and latest news to the domain of pending cases and publish matters forming no part of judicial proceedings and prejudicial to the interest of a litigant party is highly reprehensible; and such conduct on the part of the Press is liable to be dealt with by the extraordinary jurisdiction in contempt. Wadia, J. of the Bombay High Court remarked, "It would be simply disastrous for the due and proper administration of justice, if when a suit is still pending investigation in a court of law, that investigation was to be taken out of the hands of the court and practically left to the press."[2] In *R* v *Empire News, Ltd.*,[3] with reference to a comment upon a pending murder case the Earl of Reading, L.C.J., said, "The courts should not permit the investigation of murder to be taken out of the hands of proper authorities and to be carried on by newspapers. The liberty of the individual, even when he was suspected of crime, must be protected, and it was the function of the court to prevent the publication of articles, which were likely to cause prejudice."

Publication of calumny and scandals about a litigant party during the pendency of the proceedings is no necessary consequence of the freedom of the Press. That such publication may create a feeling against the party concerned and thus tamper with the due course of justice is recognised by our law of contempt. In *King* v *Parke*[4] the editor of a paper called *The Star* was fined 50*l* for publishing certain articles containing statements and facts extremely damaging to a person who was charged with an indictable offence before the petty sessions. The articles tended to produce the impression that the accused was a man of bad and dissolute character. In *Rex* v *Davies*[5]

[1] In *Ketra Moni Dasi* v *Shamaldhone Dutt*, however, Justice Imam held that a publication is not likely to prejudice a trial the date of which is not fixed and is very distant, 19 I.C., 539, 541.

[2] *Damibai Gengji Sojpal* v *Rowji Sojpal and others*, A.I.R., 1937, Bom. 305, 307.

[3] 1920, Times, 20th January, [4] 1903, 2 K.B. 432. [5] 1906, 1 K.B. 32.

when the case against one Henrietta Hunter on a charge of abandoning an infant child was proceeding a number of articles appeared in the *South Wales Daily Post* under such headings as "Traffic in Babies," "Baby Farming Sensation"—casting reflection upon the character and antecedent of the accused. The editor of the paper was adjudged guilty of contempt and fined 100*l* and costs.

Equally prejudicial to the interest of justice is the discussion of the merits or demerits of a case or the propriety or impropriety of a proceeding before it is 'dead or ended.' In *Emperor* v *Balkrishna*[1] with reference to the impugned article which suggested that the accused persons in the case then pending were innocent Macleod, C.J., of the Bombay High Court, said "Such comments, while proceedings are pending in a court of law, tend to deprive the court of the power of doing that which is the end for which it exists, to administer justice duly, impartially, and with reference solely to the facts brought before it." In *in the matter of Ganesh Sankar Vidyarthi*[2] the editor of a Cawnpore newspaper, the *Pratab*, was convicted of contempt on account of an article published in connection with the Naini jail riot case in the said paper suggesting that it was the oppression of the jail authorities that provoked the accused into making disturbance, that one of the accused persons was not the sort of men who could "involve others in trouble by inciting them and try to save their own skin" and that the prisoner witnesses who were completely at the mercy of the jail authorities could be induced to make any false statement that the authorities wanted them to make. The court held that the article was calculated to influence the mind of not only the prosecution witnesses but also the public against the merits of the prosecution. However, the accused was let off with an warning on his submission of an unconditional apology.

Contempt may be committed not only by publishing article but also by publishing photographs. If the photograph of an accused person concerned in a pending case is published before the question of his identification is disposed of it may prejudice his case by giving the witnesses an opportunity to see his photograph before the identification parade.[3] Contempt may be perpetrated by cartoon as well. In *Rex* v *Editor of the Evening News*[4] after a number of persons

1 24 B.L.R. 23.
2 26 A.L.J. 1307 (1928).
3 *Re* v *Daily Mirror*, (1927) 1 K.B. 845.
4 *The Times*, October, 27, 1925, at p. 5 (K.B.D.).

were arrested on a charge of sedition the *Evening News* published a cartoon showing three allegorical figures, labeled 'communism,' 'sedition' and 'mutiny,' being put under arest. The editor was fined £100 and costs.

Under Section 499, Exception 5, of the Indian Penal Code publication of judicial proceedings is privileged. But the publication of pleadings petition or evidence of one side or a statement of claim in a civil suit containing damaging allegations while the suit is pending may not only render the author liable to action for libel but also may subject him to punishment for contempt of court because being an *ex parte* statement of the case it may influence the judgment of the court.[1] In *re Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Mahadev Haribai Desai* in which the editor and publisher of *Young India* were held guilty of contempt for publishing a letter forming part of proceedings then pending and comments on those proceedings Marten, J., observed, "Speaking generally, it is not permissible to publish comments on or extracts from any pending proceedings in this Court, unless the leave of the Court be first obtained."[2] In another page he continued, "One can easily see the evils which would arise if it were permissible to publish a plaint containing (say) charges of fraud against some respectable man before he could ever put in his answer, and long before the charges could be judicially determined."[3] In *Bennett Coleman & Co., Ltd.*, v *G. S. Monga and another*[4] the Lahore High Court fined the respondent Rs. 100 and costs for having published a plaint seriously reflecting upon the conduct of the applicants when the suit concerned was pending disposal.

But the mere publication of the allegations made in the plaint filed in a suit or a copy of the plaint does not amount to contempt of court unless the allegations and the plaint are of such damaging nature as are calculated to give rise to an unfavourable view of the conduct of the defendant. In *Hemanta Kumari Devi* v *Satyendra Nath Mazumdar and Hirendra Nath* Panckridge, J., observed, "If the editors and proprietors of newspapers take upon themselves to publish copies or resumes of pleadings and similar documents in pending suit, they do so at considerable risk."[5] The court in

1 "It is a contempt to publish copies of the pleadings or evidence in a cause, while proceedings are pending." Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. 7, p. 287. Oswald on Contempt (3rd ed.), p. 95 may also be seen.
2 1920, A.I.R. Bom. 175, 177.
3 *Ibid* at 179.
4 A.I.R. 1936, Lahore, 917.
5 38 C.W.N. 330, 331.

this case discharged the rule on the ground that the publication concerned did not constitute an attack upon her personal character and was not, therefore, likely to prejudice her in the eyes of the court or the public.

Editors and publishers should not only take care in reporting judicial proceedings correctly they should also be very careful in choosing headlines over such reports. The headlines must correctly summarise the proceedings. They must not appear as criticism of the prosecution case or defence case in the guise of a summary of the day's proceedings nor must they misrepresent these proceedings. In *in the matter of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal* v *Tushar Kanti Ghosh*[1] the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published reports of day to day proceedings of the Dauglas murder case under such headlines as 'identity doubtful,' 'Not guilty of offence.' The court held that these headlines were misleading to the public and were likely to create a feeling in the mind of the possible witnesses that the prosecution case was weak and that the prosecution had no chance of success in proving the guilt of the accused. It, therefore, ruled that if the headlines were to be considered as comments upon the proceedings they were contempt, for the trial had not yet concluded; and if they were intended to be read as the summary of the day's proceedings they were garbled and misleading inasmuch as they did not correctly represent the proceedings; and as such they fell foul of the law of contempt. But the rule against the accused was discharged on the ground that there had been an undue and avoidable delay in moving the court. The court pointed out that summary jurisdiction in a case of contempt of this nature is invoked with the sole purpose of stopping at once any improper comments upon pending proceedings tending to hamper the administration of justice and that this belated application defeated its own purpose. In *Sathappa Chettiar* v *Ramchandra Naidu*[2] when the proceedings against Sathappa Chettiar, secretary, banker and manager of certain cotton mills for criminal breach of trust were going on the *Tamil Nadu* published a report describing the matter in the poster and in the headlines as "Sathappa Chettiar in trouble; police search in Tiruppur; thousands of rupees missing; cotton mills in danger." The court held that the allegation that thousands of rupees were missing was prejudicial to the accused but that insertion of the word 'alleged' which was argued

1 37 C.W.N. 276.
2 55 Mad. 262.

by the defence counsel as an accidental omission would have rendered the whole thing innocuous. But if a headline be not of such a nature as to commit the newspaper to any definite statement which is offensive and misleading, and therefore prejudicial to a fair trial, it may not, though it is deprecatory, amount to contempt. In *Hemanta Kumari Devi* v *Satyendranath Mazumdar*[1] the article concerning which the complaint was lodged was headed "Complaint of the adopted son against Rani Hemanta Kumari." But in consequence of a remonstrance on behalf of the Rani the newspaper later on published a paragraph admitting its inadvertence and correcting the phrase 'adopted son' to 'the alleged adopted son.' With reference to this headline the court remarked that the omission of the word 'alleged' in the original headline was not of much importance, for the whole article was to the effect that a suit had been filed in which the adopted son of the defendant's deceased husband had made certain claims: the headline did not assert that the plaintiff was, in truth, an adopted son of the defendant.[2]

Wit and humour are but laudable, if not indispensable, qualities of a journalist. But to comment in a humorous vein on a pending matter which deserves to be treated with utmost seriousness is anything but safe for him. In *re G. W. Claridge*[3] when an accused person was awaiting trial on a charge of serious offence a local paper known as *The English Mail* made light of the matter and humorously commented on the accused. The paper said that "the accused had made most of his ill-health and appeared in the court on a sofa and secured the privilege of being under arrest in his own house." While discharging the accused on his tendering apology the court observed, "But when a serious charge made against an accused person is treated as a humorous event on which the public are invited to laugh, I think it is a matter that must be dealt with very seriously."[4]

The jurisdiction of the court in cases of contempt by creating an atmosphere of prejudice is preventive and not punitive. Once an action has come to an end a discussion of the merits or demerits of the prosecution or the defence case, a comment upon the proceedings or a misrepresentation of the proceedings, however, injurious to a party, unless it ruffles the dignity of the court of justice or a judge, does not form subject-matter of a contempt proceeding.

[1] 38 C.W.N. 330.
[2] In this connection *Anantalal Singh* v *A. H. Watson* may also be seen, 58 Cal. at 890.
[3] 15 I.C. 93.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 94.

Wills, J., said, " It is possible very effectually to poison the fountain of justice before it begins to flow. It is not possible to do so when the stream has ceased."[1]

It is worthy of note that the rigour of the law of contempt cannot be brought to bear upon the ordinary individuals and the Government servants alike in all circumstances. In certain circumstances the Government servants enjoy partial immunity from proceedings for contempt of court. If a Government servant in the discharge of his official duties publishes anything which falls within the mischief of the law of contempt he can be proceeded against only with the consent of the Governor-General or the Governor of the Province according as the contemner is employed in connection with the affairs of the Government of India or with those of a Provincial Government. The Governor-General or the Governor in giving his permission acts in his discretion. And it is needless to say that where there is scope for the exercise of discretion there is scope for arbitrariness. Early in 1943 an application was filed on behalf of Jagat Narain Lal, praying service of notice on Sir Richard Tottenham, Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, to show cause why he should not be proceeded against for contempt of court for publishing a pamphlet entitled " Congress Responsibilities for the Disturbances, 1942-43 " containing certain references to Mr. Jagat Narain Lal which, the application contended, were prejudicial to the disposal of the appeal then pending against his conviction and sentence. Mr. Beevor, special judge, Patna, dismissed the application on the ground that Section 270, Government of India Act, 1935, protects all servants of the Crown from any and every civil or criminal proceeding.[2]

This special privilege of the Government servant against any proceedings for an offence, which is a grave crime when perpetrated by persons other than Government servants calling for punishment by summary process, is a gross violation of the rule of law and militates against the principles of democracy and as such deserves condemnation. In a recent case Mr. Justice Humphreys of England remarked, " If any case is brought before me hereafter in which any person—I care not how high his position or how great his fame—be found

[1] *Rex* v *Parke*, 1903, 2 K.B. at 438. In *Kelly & Co.* v *Pole* (11 Times L.R. 405) Chilty, J., said that to regard as contempt any comment upon a party to an action which had come to an end would be unduly to strain the doctrine of contempt. See also *Dunn* v *Bevan and Brodie* v *Bevan*, 1922, 1 Ch. 276, 285.

[2] Reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Dak edition, 29th April, 1943.

to have interfered with the right of one of His Majesty's subjects, I think I should have no difficulty in putting into force, with the assistance of other members of this division, the great powers of the King's Bench Division of imprisoning such a person for contempt of court."[1] Indeed the courts are the custodians and guardians of the liberties of His Majesty's subjects; and our courts also should have unrestricted right to protect these liberties whenever there is any invasion of them, no matter from what quarter it comes.

Contempt of court by abuse of parties to a suit

Contempt of court may be committed by abusing parties, witnesses or advocates concerned in pending suits. Lord Hardwicke said, "There cannot be anything of greater consequence than to keep the streams of justice clear and pure, that parties may proceed with safety both to themselves and their characters."[2] It is essential to the due administration of justice that individuals should be able to bring their cases into courts, either as defendants or as plaintiffs, without any let or hindrance. An attack upon, or a criticism of, the conduct or character of a litigant, or an abuse of him, may tend to dissuade him from continuing in his action or cause other parties who have a proper cause of action not to approach the court. If a man is threatened with criticism or vilification in case he brings forward his claims to courts he may be induced to discontinue or compromise his case and thus forgo his rights rather than suffer the indignities of being held up to ridicule. Similar is the case with witnesses. If witnesses canot give evidence in a case with perfect safety to their dignity and character nobody will come forward to depose in any case. It is, therefore, incumbent that the Press should be restrained from abusing parties and witnesses in pending suits.

In *in re The William Thomas Shipping Company, Limited* Maugham, J., observed, "I think that to publish injurious misrepresentations directed against a party to the action, especially when they are holding up that party to hatred or contempt, is liable to affect the course of justice, because it may in the case of a plaintiff, cause him to discontinue the action from fear of public dislike, or it may cause

[1] In this case a motion to commit Sir John Anderson, the former Home Secretary of England, for an alleged contempt of court came before a King's Bench Divisional Court on an application by Captain Thomas Wilson. Proceedings of this case including the judgment were reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Dak edition, May 7, 1943.

[2] Read and Huggonson's case, 1742, 2 Atk. 469.

the defendant to come to a compromise which he otherwise would not come to, for a like reason."[1] *In re Cooverji Keshavji Shah* is an important Indian case of contempt by abuse of parties to a suit. In this case proceedings for contempt were taken against the editor of the *Satya Prakash and Swadesh* of Bombay for four articles holding Rowji Sojpal and others, who were then concerned as defendants in a suit against their deceased brother's widow, up to contempt. One of these articles was headed " Rao Shaheb Sojpal, J.P., thinks that fighting in court against a helpless widow is creditable on his part " and in it personal attacks were made on the plaintiffs. In another article entitled " The cat is coming out of the bag " the plaintiffs were described as ' treacherous pair ' treating their deceased brother's widow in the same cruel manner in which Aurangzeb dealt with his brothers. It was also alleged that they paid greater attention to the welfare of dogs and pigeons than of a widowed member of their family. Justice Wadia in finding the accused guilty of contempt said, " any comment on the subject matter of the suit, and any abuse of the parties or holding them up to ridicule and contempt in the eyes of the public, whilst the suit is pending are not allowed."[2]

Weston v *Editors of the Bengalee and the Amrita Bazar Patrika* are the cases which illustrate the law of contempt by abuse of witnesses in a pending suit. When one Weston, a defendant in a suit was being examined as a witness in the suit on his own behalf *The Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta published two editorials reflecting on Weston. Justice Fletcher in his judgment said, " There seems to be no doubt that an article of this nature, reflecting on the party to a suit, more especially while a witnses is under cross-examination, is a contempt of court. That a party or witness should be held up in a public newspaper during the proceedings in Court either to public contempt or to have his conduct criticised, I think, does constitute contempt of court."[3] On the expression of regret the rule against the editors was discharged.

It is not merely abuse of a litigant party or witnesses that constitutes contempt of court; even a threat held out to a party or a witness calculated to interfere with the course of justice by inducing him, if he is a litigant, either to discontinue or compromise his suit,

1 1930, 2 Ch. 368, 376.
2 A.I.R. 1937, Bom. 305, 307.
3 1911, 11 I.C. 499, 500.

or by discouraging him, if he is a possible witness, from giving testimony, is contempt of court.[1]

Inasmuch as counsels and advocates are auxiliaries in the due administration of justice any aspersion on an advocate, or any criticism of a counsel, calculated to deter him from continuing with his duties for his clients in a pending suit or embarrass him in the discharge of these duties is a contempt of court. In *Anantalal Singh* v *Alfred Henry Watson*[2] while discharging the rule against Mr. Watson, the editor of *The Statesman* of Calcutta, on the ground of the mildness of the comment made on Mr. Sarat Bose, an advocate of the Calcutta High Court, in his connection with the conduct of the defence in the Chittágong Armoury Raid case Rankin, C.J., observed, "Comment upon an advocate which has reference to the conduct of his cases may amount to contempt of court on exactly the same principle that, while criticism of a judge and even of judge's judgment in court is permissible, criticism is not permissible if it is made at a time and in such circumstances or is of such character that it tends to interfere with the due course of justice."[3] But an attack upon an advocate after the conclusion of the trial of the case with reference to which the attack has been made is not contempt of court.[4]

[1] *Hutchinson* v *Amalgamated Engineering Union, The Times,* Aug. 25, 1932., p. 4, (K.B.D.).

[2] 58 Cal. 884.

[3] *Ibid* at 892.

[4] In *in re Hadi Hussain and other* Sulaiman, J., said, "The insult offered to an advocate not during the trial of a case but after its termination cannot be condemnation of the system of adminisration of justice, but would amount to a calumny upon an individual." A.I.R. 1926, Allahabad, 623, 627.

EDUCATING THE PEOPLE

B. D. Roy, M.A., B.T., F.R.G.S.

I

The youth in India has been neglected in the past. At least there was no definite plan to direct or guide them. Missionary Societies, Ramkrishna Mission, the Scouts and others did something, but it was limited and its effect was negligible. In the struggle for National independence, appeal was made to the young people. In Bengal, as elsewhere they came forward and made awful sacrifices. It was mainly a negative effort. No nation can prosper where there is no constructive plan. New India will need the youths of to-day and of to-morrow to build up a new country and a new nation. It is therefore not only the duty of the state, but also of other organisations including religious bodies to join hands and guide them.

India has known family life and individualism. We should not attempt to destroy this life which is fast integrating in the west. But we cannot withhold the impact of Communist and Socialist ideas, if we want to live in the modern world. Community, which is essentially a Christian idea is fast becoming the accepted order of society everywhere. Where West has failed, India may, let us hope, give a lead. All must have equal opportunist rights to live, though all may not have the same extra privileges, but these should be based on the sacred corner stone of family tie and individual freedom. While atomic energy and materialism tend to destroy humanity, India will lead in spiritual thinking. With all her traditions and convictions she can do it. It is therefore an opportunity and a challenge to New India! Who will help? The Youths and Adults of India.

Rather a detailed description of the youth service and adult education in England, where I had the privilege of staying for more than thirteen months of every week of life, has been given. It is with a view to drawing the attention of our leaders to what is being done in England—the land of golden mean and to interest them in the youths and adults of our own country. There are millions of

such people—both male and female. What a mighty source of power and energy they can be when properly guided! The claims of these people cannot be overlooked or postponed on grounds of illiteracy or otherwise. I am now convinced after my visit that without literacy, and a good deal of money their energies can be directed to many things that will help the cause of humanity.

English way of dealing with the youths and adults may not be all suitable for India. But we can take a good deal from it. A plan has been suggested, other intelligent brains and lovers of India will add or produce a new one showing us the best way of having country-wide youth and adult organisations. The need is urgent.

The Young People

Adolescence is the most important period in a man's life. Whether educated or illiterate; wealthy or poor, it is the time the young is full of vigour and energy. He or she is on the threshold of a chapter in life ready to express in all possible ways. About this time an English boy or girl completes the compulsory secondary education. The bodily changes of puberty that we observe do not occur for every individual at the same time, so there may be wide disparity in development.

"Environmental factors are of great importance. He expresses desire for independence and shows a determination to go on his own way. The assertive, independent feelings frequently alternate with the opposite desire to regress to a more childish dependent relationship with the parents. In his attempt to be independent and 'grown-up' he is constantly puzzled, hurt and obscurely frightened, and this is reflected in his behaviour which is often so bewildering and distressing to his parents.

"The adolescents are disposed to form groups and to conform to demands of group opinion in such matters as dress, adornment, speech, behaviour, and mannerism." They may have to belong to more than one group such as the family, the school or college or the community. This will mean a conflict and a struggle for readjustments. "This is a situation which must be foreseen and provided for and which will need careful and sympathetic handling. Adjustment to the Community means a growing consciousness of the complexity of modern civilisation and is often accompanied by sudden interest

in politics. Adjustment to life, the formulations of such questions as "Who am I?" "Why am I here?" is frequently made by a strong development of the religious sense.

"The adjustment to the job is postponed while that to the Community is less insistent. Intellectual achievement and success at games provide satisfaction." He is resentful of interference, but desires to confide in some one, self-assertive and yet shy and sensitive. He does not mind any strain from labour and work—Young people and the Education Act 1944. The Act (sec. 43) lays down—

It shall be the duty of every local education authority to establish and maintain county colleges, that is to say, centres for providing for young persons who are not in full-time attendance at any school or other educational institution such further education, including physical, practical and vocational training as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship.

(Sec. 44) It shall be the duty of the local education authority to serve upon every young person residing in their area who is not exempt from compulsory attendance for further education a notice directing him to attend a county college, and it shall be the duty of every young person upon whom such a notice is served to attend at the county college named in the notice." He is to attend either for one whole day or two half days, in each of forty-four weeks in every year while he remains a young person.

While it will take years to put into operation the whole scheme, there have sprung up many youth clubs and centres and societies, University settlements, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. clubs as a result of voluntary efforts. Financial assistance can be had from the Government, but each place has its own local youth committees who caters for Scouts, Boys' Brigade, Girl Guides etc. Adequate buildings will be a problem for some time to come but Church halls, private houses etc. are being freely given. People do not, as a rule, approach the Government for grants. Day Continuation Schools which, it is hoped, will develop into County Colleges. It may take some time. All parties and bodies are, however, agreed that hundreds of young people should be provided such facilities and opportunities through further education that would increase their happiness and welfare and that it would be for the good of the country and of the communities that compose it. It has been felt that (1) "the young people need to be kept in touch with the life, the discipline, the

teaching and the outlook of an educational institution for some years after they have become wage-earners, (2) the well-trained and educated make the best workers and (3) they make, on the whole, the most responsible citizens.

There is at present no provision for medical examination for all young people when they enter their jobs. The Act has therefore made the medical inspection and treatment compulsory for these students in further education. There will be a very close link between the colleges and the juvenile employment ages. There is an officer under the Ministry of Labour for a specified area who helps and guides in the choice of professions. He has a committee representing the various interests. He has a register where he has particulars of every boy and girl in his area regarding the employment. There is no compulsion, but guidance is given when sought and individually.

It is hoped that the scheme for compulsory part-time education will be in close touch with full-time education and the various voluntary activities existing for the same range of young people. Further education should not finish abruptly at the age of 18. Every effort should be made to encourage continued attendance for general or vocational education or for recreation. And technical, commercial and art colleges, women's institutes, junior technical schools, adult education and so on should be placed under the whole system of further education.

The County Colleges

The aims of education in County Colleges

Some of them are :—

I. (*a*) To help young people to understand how to live a healthy life.

(*b*) To give opportunities for regular physical exercise and to develop physical skills.

II. To develop their knowledge and understanding so that when they reach 18, boys and girls shall have—

(*a*) learned to use their leisure more of other countries and

(*b*) received a stimulus to the imagination that the enjoyment of music, drama, art and literature.

III. To develop their characters.

Curriculum of the County Colleges

I. Physical education should be compulsory for all students save for those who are not fit.

II. Practical activities including such industries as textiles, rubber, printing, bakery, building, engineering etc. Certain vocational courses for industries or trades which may employ comparatively few young people or which use special equipment may be taken up at a central college. Among others the following may be mentioned —home-management and crafts including food, dress and furnishing, gardening and care of line stock, workshop crafts including wood and metal work, drawing, painting and the lighter crafts, music, drama and film. The aim is that each student shall gain some mastery of at least one craft or activity by the end of the course and that he or she should also acquire the knowledge and understanding of the subject.

III. General Activities—

A study of English, citizenship, history, geography, science and mathematics.

IV. Electric Activities—

There may be demands for additional physical training etc.

The time can be usefully utilised for laying the foundations of social activities and of societies and clubs.

V. The Place of Religion—

The day should begin with a brief corporals act of worship of an undenominational kind.

The Special needs of Girls

For most of the girls who leave the school at 15, prospects of marriage in the future are her main preoccupation. Such girls are future home-makers. Their own happiness as well as the good of the community, requires that they should be much better equipped for the particular career.

They are also interested to know how to look well and keep well, how to avoid infection and to choose the right food. As they grow older they will be ready for a more adult approach. The study of health may become more impersonal and develop gradually into biology, human reproduction, the care and education of children, the planning of a home and the part played by the individual in the life of a community.

"The aims of the colleges have been formulated for them are as old as liberal education itself. They will provide an opportunity for the young people of this country to make better use of their powers and to give better service to humanity; to learn in short the real relationship between rights and obligations and between work and happiness."

The wounds of the recent war will take some years to heal. Though some countries have already gone ahead with their scheme for county colleges, good many will have to wait.

The Youth Clubs in England

In the absence of county colleges, the youth clubs have been trying to be of help to the young people. Throughout the country there have sprung up a network of clubs on voluntary basis. Very often there is a youth committee on which are represented the various local youth organisations, such as the Boys Brigade, the Scouts, Guides, and so on. Funds are locally raised, but assistance may be asked from the Ministry of Education. They meet in the evening and twilight being long they have sufficient time to do many things. One need not come every day—he can select his own evenings.

The Universities are now training youth leaders and when the school leaving age is raised to 18, they will be absorbed in the education. The youth clubs will still be run especially for those who will be above 18. There are few youth centres now but the idea is to increase their number and hold all youth activities in the same building either in different rooms or on separate days.

The clubs are divided into (*a*) clubs for boys only, (*b*) clubs for girls only and (*c*) mixed clubs.

There is a committee, and the club is run by a leader. There are different activities and they may be fixed on different evenings. Most of the leaders took up their jobs on honorary basis, but the tendency is to have qualified trained and well-paid men and women in their place. There is a minimum subscription to pay. Neither the parents nor the young people grudge it. Why? There is not enough space at home nor can there be all those which catch youthful imagination and supply their mental needs. Young people want to be in their own association and enjoy the life. The clubs are run for a definite time and parents can cooperate by insisting their children to come home immediately after it. Nothing is done by way of imparting vocational or technical education. It is mostly physical

and cultural. Most of them will have games, dances, music, drama and in some cases they have provision for cooking for girls, handiwork and international discussions. Visits and rambles are very common. Some clubs have libraries with books suitable for the young people.

Youth Clubs in Chippenham, Willshire

It was awfully snowing. The ex-Mayor was with me—we were out to see a mixed club. In a room boys and girls were deeply absorbed in studying the aeroplane. It was a model—all the parts were separated. On being asked they said they took it up as their hobby so they did not find it boring even when they were drawing the parts on paper. They further added that they might take it up as their job later on. In striking contrast the adjoining room was full of noise and merry-making. Boys and girls were playing various indoor games. In another room, some were singing, while some girls were making cakes for all. In a room in the corner some were discussing and it would follow by a dance. The whole atmosphere was one of joy and full of youthful activities. It was a new building, set up by the Town Council.

Methodist Youth Club, Bristol

Exactly at 7 in the evening, my friend, a German domiciled in England and married to an English wife, met me in the Victoria Rooms. The leader was a lady. The building was provided by the Methodist Church. It is, according to her, a difficult job to control young boys and girls, but she pointed out that it is a good opportunity. Once if you can put them on the right track, there would be no lack of enthusiasm. You will also get the finance that you need. If they are properly guided, they can take the initiative.

She handed over the keys, etc., to senior boys and girls, in charge of different games, etc., and in a few minutes, the whole place became a scene of youthful activities. Some were playing, some reading, some having international group discussion etc. I joined the International Group. So many questions were asked on the marriage system in India—It was a subject which drew naturally their attention, especially of the girls. Whenever nationals are available, they often have them for talks so as to get a first-hand knowledge of their countries.

It was now time for tea. We came down: all young people were there. Each paid for his or her meal. (Though food is rationed, the British Government provides it for youth clubs.) There is no question of any profit.

We finished our supper. Music started and there was dancing in the big hall. Some girls had girls as their partners, while the others were mixed. They did not take much time, it was for about 20 minutes. Fifteen minutes to nine, they all stopped to listen to the notices, given by the leader. Dates of next combined rally, dance and rally were announced. She also talked about the responsibility of the young people and I was asked to close the gathering by a prayer.

Youth Festivals in England

Two Youth Festivals were visited—one in Haywood and the other in Bristol.

Haywood

It was a church building—admission was charged at 6*d* for outsiders. The Mayor was in the chair—he said that the good sign of the age was the recognition by the state and public of the importance of youth organisations. There was no question of creed denomination differences—the youth has its own appeal to all young people and when opportunities are offered they can make the best use not only for their own joy and happiness, but for the whole community. The Divisional Education Officer remarked that the state would make a great mistake if the independence and initiative of local youth organisations are controlled by a central body. There were other speeches appealing for sympathy and support for the parents and public.

Organisations represented were—Sunday Schools, Life Brigade Boy Scouts, Girls' Orgnaisation, Brownies, Blue Birds, Youth Physical Organisations, Dramatic Clubs, Folk Dance, etc. Some of them had their own stalls with exhibits. They were very fine. Physical demonstrations, both by boys and girls, attended with music and folk dances, were good.

Bristol

The hall of the Victorial Rooms was packed—there were about two thousand people. Admission was charged at 2*s*. All sections

of the city were represented including the University. It was only the Youth Clubs who were represented, but the programme was a variety entertainment. It started with a play. The subject matter was the city itself—It was all about how a group of young men and women got disgusted with the low standard of life and wanted to leave; but finally stayed on being determined to work for the good of their city. It was much appreciated.

Dances, folk dances, music, singing, solos were given by parties selected from different clubs. It was done with the purpose of giving opportunities for young people of getting to know one another.

Cash plates—A B C, were awarded to clubs on a year's work. It depended on joint efforts by the various groups of the club —and class A was really first class good work. Some were awarded to individuals for very exceptional good service.

They might be annual or quarterly functions. They afford excellent opportunities of contacting one section of young people being in a part with those of the other. There is competition but no rivalry as they are selected from all the clubs. More of community life is fostered than individual excellence. Of course it does not stand in the way—for the excellence of the individuals contributes to the success of the party or group. It was an exhibit of youthful vigour, joy and happiness. There was much fun and smile. Clubs were under the supervision of their leaders.

Juvenile Officer and his Committee, Chippenham

He is an officer under the Ministry of Labour. His job is to guide young people under 18 to choose their jobs. There is a strong feeling that he should come under the Ministry of Education, but opinions are so sharply divided. He acts as the secretary to the local committee composed of—

(1) A representative of the workers.
(2) One representing the interests of the employers.
(3) One of the head masters of the local schools.
(4) A representative of the Scout and other youth organisations.
(5) One representing the local youth committee.
(6) One who is especially interested in youth welfare work.
(7) One representing the county educational authorities.

The Committee discusses and decides on matters connected with the employment of the young people between the ages 15 and 18.

The officer visits schools in his area (town and country side) and gives talks to pupils about, on various professions such as—air, navy, army, farming, technical and industrial jobs, etc. Sometimes, experts from the locality such as managers or directors of firms etc., as well as from the navy, army and industrial concerns are invited to talk. The officer interviews individually all young people between 15 and 18 and guides them on the choice of employments, but there is no compulsion. A register is kept having particulars of their employments, firms or farms where they are engaged and so on. Help is given in finding out employment but no guarantee is given. If anyone wants to change his or her work, help and advice is given.

Day Continuation Schools

In 1918 the Education Act (Fisher Act) placed upon local education authorities the duty of setting up and maintaining Day Continuation Schools for all young people (with some exceptions) between ages 14 and 18. Physical training, medical inspection and suitable courses of study were to be provided free. The employment was to be suspended for the purpose of attendances at a day continuation school.

By June, 1921, the scheme was well under way and by the end of the year 95,000 students were in attendance at the schools; but a year later all compulsory attendance, save at Rugby, had ceased. To-day Rugby is still the only compulsory day continuation school in the country. There are thirty voluntary schools.

In the past, a number of far-sighted firms have conducted their own day continuation schools. Sometimes the provision has been made entirely by the firm, with the aid of grants from the Ministry of Education, and sometimes the firm has provided the premises and the local education authority has equipped, maintained and staffed the school. The best of such schools have much to be said for them. They are undoubtedly convenient from the industrial point of view. In some respects they have disciplinary advantages, and the work done in them may gain in reality and unity of purpose from being closely associated with the works and from the common occupational background of the students. Such schools may, however, have some serious disadvantages. So Works-Schools have been suggested to avoid them.

Under the Education Act of 1944, all County Colleges will be established and maintained by local education authorities (some have

already been established), and compulsory attendance at a works-school will only be possible as an exemption from atte ndance at a college. Such exemption will only be given when the works-school can satisfy the educational requirements both of premises and staffing and compare favourably in all respects with a college.

The Stoke Day Continuation School (visited)

Students between the ages 15 and 18 were admitted. They came from different factories and services. Quite a few came from the Engineering and Bristol Aeroplane Factories, some from post-office and other state services, some from shops and so on. One day a week was preferred to two half-days. Subjects were similar to those of the County College. There were both girls and boys. On that particular day the three classes had been doing Drawing, History and English in separate rooms, each having roughly 20 students. It is interesting to note that it is the employers who are more earnest even though they have to pay their young employees the wages for the day when they will attend the school. They say that it helps them to be better workers. In the Drawing class, a student was drawing for the Engineering—it would very much help him in his job. A boy in the History class was asked as to why he was studying history. He said he had an interest in this subject while he was in the school. Boys and girls in the literature class had selected their own books from the library and their interest was cultural, though it might help them in their job. All said that they enjoyed their course, as they are now more conscious of their responsibility and can do what they prefer.

The Evening Classes

In many places, especially in industrial centres evening classes are held to help the young people and the adults. They are often under the management and supervision of voluntary bodies, but financial help can be obtained from Government.

Chippenham

Classes were held in the premises of the Modern School. Teachers were appointed mostly from those of the local schools. The following subjects twice a week were taught :—

I. Type-writing, Short-hand, Book-keeping, etc.

II. Music.

III. Drawing and Arts.
IV. Mathematics (including Higher Mathematics).
V. Dress-making.
VI. Wood-work.

The Drawing was of a very advanced type. The teacher was a member of the West Engineering Works. Each had drawn very well. It was said that this would greatly help them in their jobs especially in Engineering. People from the neighbouring places came to learn wood-work and first-aid. There were some from the air force.

Any group of six or more interested in anything, say Sanskrit, could approach the authorities and if the teacher is available the particular subject will be taken up. Each student willingly paid a certain amount as fees per week.

Rochdale

The Grammar school provided rooms for the evening classes. The following is a quotation (abridged) from the Municipal Technical School prospectus :—

Fees, Scholarships, etc.

Fees must in all cases be paid in advance. There are a large number of local scholarships and prices, offered on the results of competition.

(*i*) "Taylor Scholarships"—Twenty Scholarships in the Preparatory Senior Technical course in Science and Technology; fifteen scholarships in First-year Courses in Commercial subjects. These are restricted to rate-payers and the children of the rate-payers of the Borough of Rochdale.

(*ii*) "Southern Estcourt Scholarships"—They are restricted to members and to the children of members of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society for courses in weaving, spinning, building, etc.

(*iii*) "John Turner Textile Scholarships"—They will be tenable at evening or part-time classes for textile students who must be over eighteen and under twenty years of age and in regular day employment in the manufacturing, designing or dyeing of textile fabrics.

(*iv*) "Walter Trot Prize Scheme"—Prizes will be made by the Education Committee to part-time students on the results of examination, home-work, class-work and attendance records.

Courses

(*i*) Mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, Machine shop engineering, welding and Pattern-making.

(*ii*) Carpentry and joinery.

(*iii*) Plumbing and Brick-laying.

(*iv*) Cotton spinning and cotton manufacturing (weaving).

(*v*) Commerce.

(*vi*) Grocer's and Meat Trader's Course.

(*vii*) Domestic Course including Ambulance, Dress-making, Tailoring and Cookery.

It is interesting to know how local industries influence the courses of the evening classes. Jobs which were left to apprentices and which normally took much longer time, are now taught in theory and practice. It impresses how even such a simple thing as brick-laying needs careful practical training and theoretical knowledge.

Round the World

Reconstitution of U.N.O.—

Security Council is the sheet-anchor of the United Nations Organisation, whose future depends upon the manner in which this Council conducts its activities. It cannot be said that it has aquitted itself so far as creditably as it was expected to do. Differences of opinion between members have been too deep for solid success. The exercise of veto which had to be conceded at the time the Organisation was set up was too frequent. It should be remembered that the concession of veto was the result of suspicion which existed among the Great Powers and the exercise of this right only showed that the suspicion was not removed even after the different powers were brought together on the common platform of the U.N.O. On the contrary the outlook and ambition of these powers have since become more different and more conflicting. In view of this fact the change in the set-up of the U.N.O. will not bring about a better atmosphere for world peace. The chief object should now be the removal of differences in outlook and policy between the member-states. This done, the Security Council, as constituted today, may be sufficient to maintain peace, and introduce harmony, in international relations. The power of veto may then fall into disuse and the Organisation may become more compact and solid.

But it seems, other opinions and views are being entertained in certain influential circles. There is a proposal sponsored in the U.S.A. that the Security Council, whose work has been made difficult by the exercise of Soviet veto, should be bypassed and a committee consisting of representatives of all the member-states should be set up to act as the executive committee of the United Nations Assembly. The adoption of this proposal will lead us nowhere. It may only result in the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the U.N.O. and the transformation of that body into an anglo-American League. It will cease to be a world organisation to maintain world peace and become an Anglo-American instrument for gaining the national objectives of these countries and their satellites.

Professor Einstein, whose idealism is creditable to him, has also come out with a suggestion. In view of the fact that world peace is in danger and the U.N.O., as it is organised, is not in a position to guarantee it, it is necessary, he urges, that the U.N.O. should cease to be an international

organisation and become the mouthpiece of a federated world. The Assembly should become a World Parliament elected by the people of different member-states and the Security Council should become definitely subordinate to this Parliament. Professor Einstein, however, has in a fit of idealism placed the cart before the horse. Unless the differences between countries are removed and their separate angularities are blunted, a federated world is out of the question and without it a World Parliament is an absurdity.

U.N.O. Secretariat and India—

The Government of the Indian Union has not made the mistake in regard to the U.N.O., which the British Government of India deliberately had made in regard to the League of Nations. Many countries had appointed permanent representatives at Geneva in order that they might derive full advantage of their membership of the League. But the Government of India did not only not emulate their example but, even in selecting annual delegations to the Assembly, showed unjustified nigardliness and unconcern. We are glad to find that the Nehru Government has refused to follow this example. From the very start it has taken a keen interest in the work of the U.N.O. and has now appointed a permanent representative at Lake Success with the status of a Minister. The person chosen in this capacity is Dr. P. P. Pillai who had long been associated with the Secretariat of the International Labour Organisation and was its representative at New Delhi for years. We have no doubt about it that his long and intimate experience of international institutions and the principles and methods of their work will be an asset to him in his new and more responsible capacity at the U.N.O. headquarters.

We are glad to find that in a speech before the Budget Committee he has already taken in hand a matter which had troubled the Indian mind throughout the, none too glorious, career of the League of Nations and which is again troubling it in the initial stage of the United Nations Organisation. He complained that " Indian nationals were not being given their rightful proportion of jobs in the U.N.O. Secretariat." Altogether there are now about ten Indians employed in this Secretariat and none of them in the higher ranks. " There is not a single Indian national occupying any of the higher posts, such as an Assistant Secretary-General or Director." It should be remembered in this connection that India contributes about four per cent of the total contributions to the U.N.O. which employs four thousand men and women. So India should have more than one hundred and fifty men and women in the higher and lower ranks of the staff. It is our hope that Dr. Pillai would continue to harp on this subject till justice is done to this country in this very important matter.

Saar Land—

Saar Land is an integral part of Germany but its economic resources, particularly coal, have for long roused the cupidity of France. After the first World War not only France was eager to utilise these resources but to incoporate the territory politically. But world opinion, while making concessions to French demand, could not approve of the Saar Land being politically associated with France. The Peace Treaty handed over the administration of this territory for fifteen years to the Council of the League of Nations. This Council set up a government commission to run the actual administration of the Saar Land. As a result of this step France was assured of coal supply from its mines and at the same time political domination by the French Government was largely avoided. The fifteen-year period of League administration was over in 1935 and in that year a plebiscite was taken. Germany had by that time already risen out of the slough of despondency into which she had been hurled by the defeat in 1918. Nazi propaganda was now going on in full swing and the Saar-landers who had not ceased to be Germans now voted overwhelmingly in favour of re-incorporation in Germany. So the French dream vanished but only to reappear after the second and more disastrous defeat of Germany in 1945.

This time the allies, particularly the French, appear to be determined that Germany should not have another opportunity of reorganising eighty million Germans for purposes of aggression. Consequently apart from the temporary division of the country into four zones, we are confronted today with the prospect of a permanent separation of the Saar Land from that country. This time the Saar territory would not be handed over to any international authority for administration. Instead a draft constitution for an autonomous and democratic Saar State has been formulated. But although emphasis has been placed upon the autonomy of this State, this emphasis is intended more to hide the real character of the State than to declare it. This State, it is important to bear in mind, will be "economically joined to France." In other words as France did not dare to incorporate the territory outright, as such a step would not have the approval of the other allies and particularly of world opinion, a subterfuge had to be resorted to, and the Saar Land had to be constituted into a new autonomous, democratic state, "economically joined to France."

This draft constitution would go into effect after being approved of by the Saar Parliament. Elections to this Parliament were held on the 5th of October last and it seems a large majority of the members are pledged to support the draft and vote in favour of their state being "economically joined to France." But we should not think that with the adoption of the new constitution we have witnessed the last scene of the

Saar drama. It is not unlikely that we shall have an epilogue which may bring in a different conclusion.

International Communist Coordination Organisation—

News has been received of an international Communist coordination organisation being formed with headquarters at Belgrade. The organisation will have the unpretentious title of Information Bureau. But the object evidently is to coordinate (and to control) the activities of the Communist parties and organisations in different countries of the world. The Bureau may, therefore, be regarded as the resuscitation of the Commintern (the third International) which was formally abolished in 1943. It should be borne in mind that the Commintern was started in March, 1919 but it could not be fully organised till the following year. The object of this organisation which had its headquarters at Moscow was to mobilise support in different countries for the Communist revolution which had been brought about in Russia. The idea dominant at that time was that in view of the organised opposition in other countries, with which the revolution in Russia was confronted, it was essential that if this revolution was to survive, attempts should be made to bring about similar revolutions in other states. Even if these revolutions could not be engineered, the activities of the Communist organisations would keep the Governments of these countries fully engaged at home and make it difficult for them to support an interventionist policy in Russia. Later of course, when other countries revised their policy of intervention in Russian affairs, Stalin became convinced that time had arrived when Communist energy should not be frittered away in sporadic revolutionary activities in all states but should be concentrated in making the revolution successful in one country, namely Russia. He was inclined to the view that a successful experiment of the communist system in the Soviet Union would stimulate interest in other regions and ultimately strengthen the Communist cause even in those countries where at that time sporadic revolutionary activities were only strengthening reaction. Accordingly, he withdrew his interest from the Commintern and devoted his time and attention to the successful experimentation of Marxist principles in his own country. The Commintern was not, however, abolished, for such abolition might create misunderstanding in the mind of the Communists elsewhere. Thus the Commintern remained in existence but for all practical purposes its activities were suspended. Dimitrov, who now presides over the destiny of Bulgaria, was for some years the Secretary of this organisation which was in a state of suspended animation. The outbreak of the War on the Russian front in 1941 created, however, a new situation. The allies of the Soviet Union were Britain and the U.S.A. which could not be easy in mind as to their assistance to the Communist Government so long as

the Commintern continued to exist. So by way of allaying suspicion the Soviet Government consented to the liquidation of this body in 1943.

There was a fond hope in certain circles that the conclusion of the second World War would bring in an era of international understanding and concord. But the hope has been belied. The world is fast becoming a war camp. The relations between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, the two powerful countries left by the devastating second World War, are too strained to remain as they are. Either they must improve or they will further deteriorate and end in war. It is not difficult to say which countries will join hands with the U.S.A. in the contingency of such a war. So on the Soviet side also preparations are necessary for enlisting, not only support but, sympathy which is sometimes more effective than support. This is the reason why in another shape the International has been revived. Moscow will not be the headquarters of the new Commintern, possibly to avoid suspicion that Russia was starting the new organisation to play its own game and subserve only its own interests. This new development will be watched with curiosity everywhere in the world.

Government Servants not to Speculate—

The Government of West Bengal has taken a necessary and appropriate step by prohibiting its employees from either gambling on the race course or speculating in shares. Apart from the fact that many officers account for their fraudulently earned income by reference to the race course and the stock exchange, there is another equally valid reason why such gambling and speculation on the part of Government servants s hould be stopped. All cannot be winners. In fact most are losers but the losses they incur they may desire to recoup by corruption. Consequently, the new order will not only help in tracing the real sources of income which an officer may have to his credit but will also remove one of the reasons for existing corruption among Government servants. We are also glad to learn that the Government has called upon all employees to submit shortly a return of all properties they may now possess either in their own name or in the name of relatives and friends. These returns if properly scrutinised will help in separating the corrupt from the honest civil servants.

Junagad State and Pakistan—

Some time ago the state of Junagadh in Kathiawar acceeded to Pakistan and thereby created a problem which at the time of writing has not been solved. On the fifteenth of August last the Indian states became free from the paramountcy rights of the British Crown and had the liberty to join either the Indian Union or Pakistan or technically even to remain outside either of these Dominions. But the exercise of this liberty was certainly subject to the observance of certain geographical and environmental conditions. It was not expected that a state which is surrounded

by Indian Union territory and whose population is overwhelmingly Hindu should accede to Pakistan simply because the ruler happens to be a Muslim and has enthusiasm for affiliation with Pakistan. There are several considerations involved in any decision regarding this matter. First, the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of the state should have priority over the desires of the ruler. It is on the basis of such popular aspirations that the division of India has taken place. If the wishes of the Government mattered at all, the North-Western Frontier Province would not have been included in Pakistan. The declared policy of the Khan Sahib Government was regarded as being of no importance. The subject of accession to Pakistan was referred to the people and their decision, though arrived at by a very narrow margin, was acted up to. In the same way the future affiliation of Junagadh should have been left to the decision of the people of Junagadh and not to the ruler and his government. Secondly, the geographical situation of Junagadh is such as to endanger the Indian Union if it became part of a foreign state. Consequently, the Government and people of the Indian Union must have a decisive voice in determining the future of Junagadh. In view of these considerations the Dominion Government of India is perfectly justified in not recognising the accession of this state to Pakistan and in taking up the matter with the Pakistan Government.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Man and His Becoming According to the Vedanta by Rene Guenon.—Translated by Richard C. Nicholson. Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, W.C.1. Pp. 188. Price 12/6*d*.

The view-point taken by M. Guenon in explaining the doctrines of Vedanta has been somewhat Western in colour and technique and the opinions expressed contain a mixture of thoughts which when analysed, clearly envisage views held by the spiritual concept of Western mould which partakes generally of exoterism and congregational worship. The East believes in individual unfurlment and esoterism and hence all her teachings are a treasure-house to the initiated only. Vedanta philosophy clearly expresses the belief that man inherits from nature and attains perfection in communion with Self or all-Pervading Being; any endeavour to understand it requires training and perseverance and so any effort to have a correct appraisal through the intellect is, to all intents and purposes, a bold attempt to cut a Gordian knot after the Herculean fashion. Still, we admit the sincerity with which the author has been animated throughout and the honest treatment to put the whole mystic philosophy of the East in a nutshell for some understanding by the West, whose idea of the same is generally either vague or is based on misinformed or insufficient facts and data.

The Case for Poland.—By Ann Su Cardwell with an Introduction by R. H. Markham. Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A. Pp. 92. Price 25 cents.

This brochure seems to be a piece of propaganda literature so laboriously collected and published by the press of America and England. The stand taken by the writer brings into limelight statements of a school, sponsored and led by Mikolajczyk who differed and refused to accept the conditions laid down by Stalin. To be impartial, whatever truth there might be in his movement should best be studied in the light of the views of the opposite school failing which the statements by Mikolajczyk would remain mere propaganda. This is clear when we read the recent news distributed by Reuter that the Polish premier M. Osubkaorawski appeals to the Opposition led by Mikolajczyk for unity at the forthcoming elections stating that otherwise the independence of Poland would be eventually endangered.

J. N. Mitra

America, the Land of Superlatives.—By Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. Published by Phoenix Publications, Girgaon, Bombay 4. Pp. 362. Price Rs. 7.

In her introductory note, the author tells us that before proceeding to the United States she had read many books dealing with that great country and had also established contact with many American visitors to India. Then came her 18 months' stay there in the course of which she traversed all parts of it, shared the life of the rich, the middle classes, the poor, mixing even with negroes and poor whites on the most intimate of terms. The first hand knowledge gathered in this way finds expression in this admirable book, not one page of which makes dull reading. It is a mine of information bearing practically on all those aspects of American life which possess interest for Indians conveyed in such an attractive and sparkling style that long as the chapters are, the reader has perforce to finish the one on which he has started. The one point made by the author is that no country, however advanced, is without its problems. In the United States, for instance, the Negro problem as yet remains unsolved. This should encourage those among us who hold that India is politically hopeless because she has hitherto failed to solve the communal problem.

While the general get-up, the paper and the printing are good; it is regrettable that this otherwise excellent book should be spoilt by misprints which occur with inexcusable frequency.

"PEREGRINE PICKLE."

Hinduism at a Glance.—By Swami Nirvedananda. Foreword by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Model Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8.

In this book a laudable attempt is made to bring together in small compass the essentials of Hinduism as both religion and philosophy. The learned author makes an acute analysis of the different aspects of the Hindu Faith, beginning with the Rig Veda and ending with the present-day Hindu outlook. He deals with this great religion in its augmentation as well as in its ramifications through the centuries. Hinduism is, after all, a unity in difference; under it combine many creeds, doctrines and spiritual disciplines. The author shows all this with consummate skill. The book can well be commended to those who want to get some idea of Hinduism.

However, it seems that the Swamiji is much under a bias towards Adwaitism of the abstract type and Vedism. In the section on philosophical views of Soul, God and Nature his main arguments tend towards the position of Sankara and his followers—that the world is an illusion, although in the end the Swamiji admits that Creation is a mystery over which philosophers are puzzled. Often enough he suggests that the quintessence of Hinduism

is to be found in the Vedas and the Upanishads and that the Puranas afford only a pictorial representation of the eternal truths enshrined in the former. That is why he employs the term " mythology " to cover the kind of literature called the Puranas. The fact, however, remains that there is much in the Puranas themselves which is to be considered as authoritative as the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Swamiji, like many modern preachers of Hinduism, seems to be under the illusion that the Vedas and the Upanishads represent the core of Hinduism and that all the rest of it is an accretion, which has indeed proved useful.

Be that as it may, the book is written in simple language and is a very good introduction to the study of Hinduism which is at the present time increasingly attracting the attention of the world. The book, I am confident, would serve to dispel misconceptions in many minds about the religion of the Hindus. The book is neatly printed and the get-up is excellent.

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo.—By S. K. Maitra. Benares Hindu University, 1945, Second Edition. Price Rs. 2-8 or 5*s*. or $ 1.25.

This book is an excellent introduction to the philosophy and yoga of Sri Aurobindo. Of recent years many of Sri Aurobindo's followers have published books expounding their master's main ideas. This book seems to be the best of them all in respect of both form and content. The author's neat and fluent English is an aid to understanding his exposition of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. The discussion in the book covers a wide field : Sri Aurobindo's major themes are taken up and threshed out and his contribution to the world thought is clearly brought out. One cannot think of a better book than this if one want to get conversant with Aurobindoism. We must be all grateful to the author for this brilliant piece of work.

The book, however, contains much controversial matter. In some contexts the criticisms brought against some schools of philosophy are clearly unjust. To take up one or two of them. In his criticism of Bergson the author says, " Bergson, although he has based the whole of his philosophy upon intuition, has unfortunately not indicated, in a manner free from ambiguity, the nature of intuition and has not also shown on what principle the gradation of intuition can be made." (Pp. 39-40) It is true that Bergson does not explicitly work out the gradation of intuition. Still it must be said in fairness to him that in his writings he throws out ample suggestions as to how to formulate the grades of intuitions. The author ought to have looked into them. Again, we cannot say that Bergson does not indicate in an unambiguous manner the nature of intuition. Bergson,

in fact, devotes a whole piece of work to the theme of intuition and there he works it out in elaborate detail. It is after all a misconception to say that Bergson does not define intuition in clear terms.

In another context the author says "The one-sided affirmation of the Spirit is the characteristic note of Indian thought as we find in the Vedanta." (P. 3) This is perplexing. Does the author mean that Indian thought is co-extensive with the Vedanta? Again the Vedanta is not one; there are so many schools of it, and at least some of them repel the attribute the author flings towards them. The author's description of Indian thought has an amusing analogy to some British parliamentarians' description of Indian National Congress as a Hindu organization. Politicians may have their motives for suppression of a truth. What motives can philosophers and yogis have for any such purpose?

Now to touch on one of the issues contained in the book. The author urges the caustic criticism against the prominent schools of philosophy that they cannot adequately explain the origin of the world. He is firmly of opinion that Sri Aurobindo's philosophy surpasses all of them in solving the problem of Creation. Creation is doubtless the crux of all philosophy. The author, however, claims that Sri Aurobindo has afforded us a purely logical explication of the why and how of the whole process of creation. And it appears that there is nothing mystical about the Supreme Being. But it is no use aiming too high. It is futile to attempt to render the Ineffable in strictly logical terms.

A. C. DAS

Tales of Four Friends.—By Pramatha Chaudhuri (translated by Indira Devi Chaudhurani), Visva-bharati Bookshop, 2, College Square, Calcutta. 120 pages. Price Re. 1-8.

In 1921 while at Paris I brought Pramatha Chaudhuri's *Char-iyari-katha*, to the notice of Victor Basch, Professor of Aesthetics at the Sorbonne, under the title of *Les Contes de quatre camarades*. Basch got a few samples of the Bengali original through my French rendering and was all admiration for Chaudhuri's brilliant composition and style. Today the book has come to me as *Tales of Four Friends*, Englished by the author's wife, Indira Devi. The renderings are exquisite. English readers will not fail to feel that Chaudhuri was a pastmaster in the creation of characters and situations. From top to bottom he is an intellectual, but artistry is no less prominent in his make-up.

Chaudhuri is perhaps the first Indian writer to use European (English) landscapes and men and women as the themes of literature. This is an aspect to which the attention of scholars may be drawn.

Chaudhuri does not allegorize. Symbolism is not in his grain. His contours are precise and shapes are solid. The "four chums" and their women do not possess the vagueness of impressionist paintings. He furnishes vivid photos and is not content with mere suggestions. The farthest removed from expressionist literature as he is, his realistic descriptions of nature and interhuman relations are not however those of the humanist Maupassant under whose influence he may have worked. The lunatic woman, the women pickpocket, the worldly wise woman, and the maid-servant do not represent the poor and the pariah on whom the scientific naturalism of Zola bestows profound introspection. He does not exhibit problems nor is he interested in the condition of the masses under capitalism. He is not a social scientist like these French masters of realistic fiction. A few attitudes of life have arrested his attention. That's all.

In the epoch of Tagore Chaudhuri was the most un-Tagorean story-writer. He had no business with psychological analysis of social attitudes, personality, or human contacts. Nor of course did he psychoanalyze. He is a simplest story-teller and nothing else. This objective art carried to the n^{th} term. He is almost akin to the writers of medieval Sanskrit stories in *Katha-Saritsagara or Thirty-two Thrones.*

In spite of all the hard contours and positive realities Chaudhuri is supremely interested in dreams, sleepy life, ghosts. A dose of romanticism or unearthly imagination enlivens each one of the tales. He takes us off from the immediate surroundings and introduces us to strange sights and sounds. Nay, the atmosphere called up by them is often the eerie milieu of Balzac's romantic and mystifying moods or Tagores' *Hungry Stones.* If he is neither a symbolist nor a *pucca* romanticist, shall we call him a neo-romanticist? Perhaps yes. Is not his realism profusely paraphernaliated with unreal or romantic situations?

Be this as it may, we do not go to Chaudhuri for a social message. It is art for art's sake, pure art, that we obtain from him. But in any case, he himself can be psychoanalyzed into quite a cynic. It is not difficult to catch hold of his view of life. His endings are shockingly dismal. This is the shock of art, no doubt. But it is pessimistic art, all the same.

BENOY SARKAR

Ourselves

Subhendusekhar Bose Memorial Medal

The Subhendusekhar Memorial Committee collected a sum of Rs. 2,881 and recommended that this might be handed over to the University for the annual award of a medal to one who would secure the highest total marks in Satistics for the year among those obtaining Honours in the subject in B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations of the University. The University has accepted the offer with thanks and will arrange for the annual award of a gold-rimmed silver medal from the proceeds of the donation. It should be remembered in this connection that the late Mr. Subhendusekhar Bose was a brilliant alumnus of the University whose promising career as a statistician was cut short by an untimely death in 1938.

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Professor Meghnad Saha

Dr. M. N. Saha, Palit Professor of Physics, has been nominated a member of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore by the Government of India.

Professor Saha was also invited by the Academy of Science, Paris, to attend an International Congress of Science to be held in Paris on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the death of Lord Rutherford. The Congress was held in November and Professor Saha attended it in response to the invitation.

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Bengal Olympic Association and the University

Lt. D. K. Chowdhuri, University Organiser of Physical Education, was appointed a representative of the University on the Executive Committee of the Bengal Olympic Association.

* * *

Dr. Holmes at the University

The American savant Dr. Holmes who has been touring different educational centres in this country as Rabindranath Tagore Lecturer on the Wutmull foundation delivered three lectures on different aspects of American life in the Darbhanga Hall on the invitation of the University. The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, presided.

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Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. C/676/Affl.

It is herby notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that the A. M. College, Mymensingh, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali to the B.A. (Pass) standard, in History to the B.A. (Hons.) standard, in Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-Keeping to the I.A. standard and in Biology to the I.Sc. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, with permission to present candidates at the examinations in these subjects from 1949, and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/596A/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that Carmichael College, Rangpur shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Chemistry to the B.Sc. (Hons.) standard, Bengali, Arabic and Persian to the B.A. (Hons.) standard and Urdu (Classical) and Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject from 1949, and not earlier.

Senate House :
The 13th August, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. C/7547/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 the proposed temporary Medical College in the Lake area shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in the subjects to the M.B. standard in order to enable it to impart training to candidates for the condensed M.B. course under Chapter XLVI-B of the Calcutta University Regulations, with permission to present candidates in the subjects at the Final M.B. Examination from November, 1948, and not earlier.

Senate House :
The 6th May, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (Offg.).

The undermentioned examinations will be held from the dates stated against them.

(1)	Diploma in Soap Technology Examination	..	Monday, 3rd March, 1947
(2)	Junior Military Certificate Examination	..	Thursday, 3rd April, 1947
(3)	D.P.H. Part II Examination ..	..	Tuesday, 8th April, 1947
(4)	T.T.C. (Geography) Examination ..	..	Monday, 28th April, 1947
(5)	Certicate in Agriculture Examination	..	Tuesday, 6th May, 1947
(6)	I.E. & B.E. & B.Met. Examinations	..	Monday, 12th May, 1947
(7)	Diploma in Domestic Science Examination	..	Tuesday, 13th May, 1947
(8)	M.B. Examinations	..	Monday, 26th May, 1947
(9)	T.T.C. (Art Appreciation) Examination	..	Monday, 7th July, 1947
(10)	Certificate in Tanning Examination ..	..	Monday, 14th July, 1947
(11)	Diploma in Spoken English Examination	..	Monday, 1st Sept., 1947

Senate House :
The 27th March, 1947.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

The following changes in Chap. XL (B.T. Exam.) of the Regulations have been sanctioned by Goverment :

(*i*) In line 2 of Section 2, *replace* the words ' B.A. or B.Sc.' *by* the words ' B.A., B.Com. or B.Sc.'

(*ii*) In lines 2-3 of Section 3(*a*), *replace* the words ' in Arts or in Science ' *by* the words ' in Arts or in Commerce or in Science.'

(*iii*) In line 4 of Section 3(*b*) after the words ' with Honours ' *add* the words ' or passed the B.Com. Examination in the First Division.'

The changes will be given effect to from this session.

Senate House :
The 11th June, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (*Offg.*).

Applications are invited from Indians born of Indian parents for the Guruprasad Singh Professorship in Agriculture in the Scale Rs. 700-50/2-1,000 plus usual Dearness Allowance. The applicant should hold a Doctor's degree or a Master's degree in Agriculture with experience of teaching and research and capable of carrying out original work and stimulate and guide research in his special subject and to take steps to dessiminate the knowledge of his special subject with a view to fostering its study and applications.

He should also possess administrative experience in organising a teaching and research department. Higher initial salary may be given by the University to a suitable candidate.

The applicantions must reach the undersigned on or before the 30th June, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (*Offg.*).

Notification No. C/696/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University to impart training for the Diploma Course in Obstestrics and Gynaecology with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject from 1948, and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (*Offg.*).

Notification No. C/686/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 Jamalpur College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Mathematics to the I.A. standard, with permission to present candidates at the examination in that subject from 1949, and not earlier.

Senate House :
The 1st September, 1947.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (*Offg.*).

Notification No. C/646/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (VIII of 1904), read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the said Act, the Governor is pleased to order that P. C. College, Bagerhat, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the I.Sc. standard and in Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-Keeping and Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48, with permission to present candidates at the examinations in the subjects from 1949, and not earlier.

B. B. DUTT,
Registrar (*Offg.*).